

EARLY MARRIAGE: THE CASE OF VAN PROVINCE IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

EARLY MARRIAGE : THE CASE OF VAN PROVINCE IN TURKEY

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The early marriage as a patriarchal cultural fact is not a retrospective solved up, ended issue but a problem lasting with all its tragedy.

The early marriage which is the subject of this study is a form of actualisation of child abuse within the family, in the prison of privacy. This abuse may only be expressed within the repertoire of femaleness. Regarding this language, which is functionalized with destiny, fortune, luck, sin, immoral, the comprehension of what it means to be child-bride, how the patriarchy institutionalize the early marriage which we may call as legitimate child abuse was tried.

If marriage occurs between persons either one of them or both of them is under 18 is called early marriage. Although child marriages are no legitimacy in the sense of jurisprudence, child marriage is still occurring as a cultural practice. This study based on some presumption such as everybody who is under the age of 18 is accepted as a child. Marriage is an important issue for feminism. Although there are different feminist perspectives, all of them are critical towards marriage. For instance; according to radical feminists' theoreticians' marriage is a systematic way of oppressing women hence being a child likely to intensified adverse consequences of marriage.

The main concerns of this study how their child status affects their marriage experiences. In this frame work early married studied based on a field research

conducted on 19 women in Van province .In order to get diversity in Van, four districts were chosen. The scopes that women's marriage experiences are questioned are the following women's domestic labor, women participating in social life, violence against women, sexuality, motherhood and childcare. In order to get more insight about the issue 8 representatives of non governmental organizations and 10 public officials who interested in women issue are met.

Key words: Feminism, Early Marriage, Sexuality, Motherhood and childcare

ÖZ

ERKEN EVLİLİK: TÜRKİYE'DE VAN İLİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Ataerkil kültürel bir olgu olarak erken evlilik geçmişe ait çözülmüş, bitmiş bir mesele değil, bütün trajedisi ile devam eden bir sorundur.

Bu çalışmanın konusu olan erken evlilik; çocuk istismarının aile içinde, mahremiyet hapisanesinde gerçekleşme biçimlerinden biridir. Bu istismar ancak kadınlık repertuarı içinden ifade bulabilmektedir. Bu çalışmada kader, kısmet, nasip, günah, ayıp üzerinden işleyen bu dilden yola çıkarak, çocuk gelin olmanın ne demek olduğu ataerkilliğin meşru çocuk istismarı diyebileceğimiz erken evliliği nasıl kurumsallaştırdığı kadınların yaşam deneyimleri üzerinden feminist bir yaklaşımla anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Eşlerden biri ya da ikisi birden 18 yaşın altındaysa yapılan bu evliliğe erken evlilik denmektedir. Medeni yasa erken evliliği yasaklamış olmakla birlikte erken evlilik kültürel bir pratik olarak devam etmektedir. Çalışma 18 yaşından küçük olan herkesin çocuk olduğu varsayımına dayanır. Evlilik konusu feminizm için önemli olmuştur. Her ne kadar birçok feminist akım olsa bile, feminizmin evliliğe karşı eleştirel bir yaklaşımı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Örnek vermek gerekirse, birçok radikal feminist teoriye göre evlilik kadınları baskı altına almanın sistematik bir biçimidir. Bundan hareketle çocuk olmanın evliliğin olumsuz etkilerini yoğunlaştırabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın ilgilerinden biri de çocuk olmanın evlilik deneyimini nasıl etkileyeceğidir. Bu çerçevede erken evlilik, Van'da 19 kadınla gerçekleştirilen bir alan araştırmasına dayanarak incelenmektedir. Buna ek olarak 8 sivil toplum kuruluşu temsilcisi ve 10 ilgili kamu görevlisi ile de görüşülmüştür. Kadınların erkek evlilik deneyimleri şu alanlarda sorgulanmaktadır. Kadının ev içi emeği, sosyal yaşama katılımı, kadına karşı şiddet, cinsellik, annelik ve çocuk bakımı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Feminizm, Erken Evlilik, Cinsellik, Annelik Ve Çocuk Bakımı

To all women whose childhoods are stolen



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The early marriage as a patriarchal cultural fact is not a retrospective solved up, ended issue but a problem lasting with all its tragedy.

The early marriage which is the subject of this study is a form of actualization of child abuse within the family, in the prison of privacy. This abuse may only be expressed within the repertoire of femaleness. Regarding this language, which is functionalized with destiny, fortune, luck, sin, immoral, the comprehension of what it means to be child-bride, how the patriarchy institutionalize the early marriage which we may call as legitimate pedophilia was tried.

Despite being in contradiction with the international conventions that Turkey is also a party to and Turkish Criminal Code, Child Protection Law and Civil Code, the early marriage keeps on taking place due its social legitimacy.

If be needed to quote some data indicating that the early marriage continues to take place: Data came from Turkish Statistic Institution's research which is called "Construction of Family", conducted 2006, according to their data, %32 of married women is married before 18, and it is only % 7 for men. When we look at these data, it is obvious that early marriage is a problem which is affected to women mainly.

Data about early marriage also came from Grand National Assembly of Turkey's Early Marriage Commission, according to them every one of the four marriages is an early marriage.

Marriage, occurs between persons who is under the age of 18 is called early marriage. It is also seen as a forced marriage, because a person as a child can not decide what is good to her or his before the age of 18. Even if he or she wants to marry under the age of 18, because of being developmental age, his or her will should be ignored.

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child which was adopted in the General Assembly of the UN in 1989 and ratified by 191 countries, including also Turkey, individuals under the age of 18 are considered as children. That is why early marriage problem is also called “child bride”. Therefore, conceptions such as “child mother”, mother children” “early marriage”, “preterm birth” are concepts that have place also in international law.

A few factors come out when why the early marriages do not enjoy legal legitimacy in most countries and are seen as a problem is questioned. Early marriages cause the emergence of unhealthy and young mothers by affecting the physical and mental development of particularly the girls and cause them to find themselves inside complicated roles while they are yet in adolescence period. The educations of the adolescent children who are materially and morally dependant are cut by the marriage of these children and they cannot also benefit enough from the employment opportunities since they have not been able to become qualified. Early marriages result mainly against the women. The woman who is not able to participate in the labor force and who has been deprived of education becomes obliged to live her life depending upon her husband. UN defines early marriage as a modern version of slavery and early marriage is evaluated under the head of human trafficking.

Turkey has also made regulations regarding the child in compliance with the international legislation yet has applied a different practice in the marriage issue. Despite the consideration of the ages below 18 as a child according to Turkish Civil Code, marriage age is 17 but under the exceptional circumstances, judges can let to marriage at the age of 16. Turkish legislation try to protect child rights on the one hand, on the other hand, they (Turkish legislation) let to marriage at the age of 16. According to the Criminal Code, the crime committed against an individual who is under the age of 15 is considered as “child molestation”. As also seen here, there is

no uniformity in the legislation about the age until which the individual will be considered as child. In addition to this, the punishment of the spouses of those who had turned 15 and been married off unofficially was conditioned to the complaint of the victim. When it is considered that a girl who had been married off by imam marriage and is at the age of 15 would not easily be plaintiff against her husband, it is possible to state that the early marriage is nearly encouraged.

In addition to the practices carried out by a few non-governmental organizations on the issue of early marriage, mostly the official authorities have worked on the subject. Some of the institutions that carry out researches on this issue are Parliamentary Sub-Commission for the Investigation of Early Marriage, General Directorate of Family and Social Research the Human Rights Presidency (of the Prime Ministry), Social Services and Child Protection Agency.

The families' not thinking that the early marriage is early has been stated as a ground for the early marriage that in the study carried out by the Human Rights Committee of the Prime Ministry of Turkey. It is clear here that seeing early marriage as a problem requires some precondition. First of all it is necessary to see childhood as a distinct category. Childhood is a modern category which is first conceptualized at 18th century, before that child is only seen as a miniature version of adult. Because of the absence of lower limit for working, in traditional societies there is no need to delay adulthood.

Appearance of the modern childhood concept is much related to nation-states and modernization. Nation states require the compulsory education in order to continue it self by creating citizens. In addition to that family is very important for modern childhood concept. Family is responsible for transmitting present values religion, education, and property rights and for meeting his/her biological and psychological needs. According to modern childhood concept, childhood is a special category which has different needs from adults and must be protected from the world outside, they are seen a category which need to special education and nutrition. (Aries: 1962, Postman: 1995, Heywood: 2003)

Talking about drawbacks of early marriage means that we have a modernist approach towards childhood. Deprivation from education, being more vulnerable against violence, being at risk in terms of health are seen the major adverse consequences of early marriage according to reports which was mentioned above. Calling all these adverse effects of early marriage is a problem require modern childhood concept. The early marriage is considered as inconveniency with the conceptualization of child which has been mentioned herein. Whereas the child is of a category which shall be playing games, going to school, it is being thrown into the marriage, in which complicated power relations perpetrate. The right of the woman to be a child is being seized. This study, regarding the Convention on the Rights of the Child, is based upon the presumption that individuals under the age of eighteen are children and marrying of the children is inconvenient. Even we can asset that some government policies cause to become established the problem such as new social security system, new legislation prevents girls from get benefit from their father after the age of 18. It means that women should join to labor force or get married in order to include social security system. Interestingly enough, government defends this legislation in the name of equality. However, participating to labor force is not equal for women and men. Thus, most of the time there is one way for women. That is getting married. It is very difficult to prove but this legislation may cause the enhancing of early marriages; however government promotes marriage in a discursive level by inculcating to make three children in every opportunity.

Day to day, being a working mother is getting difficult. Daycare centers, breast-feeding permission and this kind of rights are eliminated with the blind excuse of equality. Government claims that these kinds of rights are obstacles for women employment. All these policies encourage women whose rights are taken from them to marry as a short way for survive. Thus, we can conclude that the marriage has turned out to be a social security system.

When we look at the indications from the world, it is seen that 36% of the women in the age group of 20-24 are composed of those who had been married or began to live together under the age of 18.

The highest number of early marriages in the world is found in Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Pregnancy and maternity at a very early age are an inevitable result of child marriage. It is supposed that each year 14 million adolescents between the ages of 15 and 19 give birth.¹

The issue is not only interest Turkey and Asian country. At the same time, the unit is established in UK in order to struggle early marriage². UK citizens whose origin is Asia and Africa are forced to marry with someone, who wants to get UK citizenship, especially when they visit their home country at summer holiday by their family. UK and other European countries take some precaution to hinder it. School's administration makes our pupil who comes from Asian countries sign a document that is a kind of declaration about marriage decision. They sign it if they don't want to marry with someone. After that if they don't come back to school, administration of school will pursue their sequel.

The early marriage is considered in this study as a form of expropriation of patriarchy on the body, rights of her fertility and sexuality of the women.

How and by which mechanisms the patriarchy institutionalizes the legitimate paedophilia by normalising a situation which may be considered as child abuse via male cooperation constitutes the principle question. How the early marriage, which is an oppressive patriarchal custom, sustains itself is one of the questions of the study. What it is to be a child-bride regarding the own statements of the early-married women how the early-married women perceive themselves as being child-brides is another subject that is being emphasized. Additionally, the reasons and results of the early marriage was sized up relying on their own experiences of life.

There is no consensus on the definition of the concept of patriarchy which was used in identifying the question of the research. Lacking a consensus on its definition would not pose an obstacle on the explicatory character of concept of patriarchy.

¹ <http://www.bianet.org/2006/12/21/89335.htm>

² 2009-07-02 Haber7, <http://www.haber7.com>

As I will mention in more detail while giving a place to what has been written on the definition of the patriarchy in the following chapter, Bennet (2006) states that the patriarchy exists anywhere and, however, takes various forms. While, in case of early marriage, the patriarchy – which was identified by Bennet familial-social, ideological, political system that actualize itself by mediation through education, customs – function as seizure of her rights on the body, sexuality, fertility of the woman, in another place, another woman may go through the same process by experiencing the norm to obtain and maintain the body sizes perceived as perfect as a heavy burden or by alienation to her own body by processes of medicalised pregnancy and menopause.

Hartmann's (1981) emphasize on the solidarity between male on the rendering the patriarchy effective in his definition of patriarchy is significant in respect of this study. Solidarity between male is operational in respect of institutionalization of the paedophilia, probability of early marriage. Father transfers his daughter to another man as a property. It is a kind of legal system that occurs among men. The pudicity of the woman is not a woman subject but an issue of a law between male. The common name of all the sorrow becomes “destiny” and the consolation is “these are normal things in home”. Whilst this study had been focused on the grounds and the consequences, after the interviews I have had wit the women, I realized that it was not possible to separate the grounds and the consequences sharply from each other. If we need an instant, marrying off a girl in order to protect her from rape puts her right into an experience of rape which will last the whole life. Being married off with the fear of rape constitutes the beginning of the rape. Another instant is that a girl may fall right into a helical of violence by consenting early marriage, who could not tolerate a second marriage of her father, that is bringing in a fellow wife upon her mother and who has become subject of a kind of sensual torture.

However, it is also not possible to state that the early marriage does not have grounds and consequences, yet only there are engagements for some cases.

It also has to be noted that not all of the marriage experiences mentioned herein are of the early type. It is not possible to claim that women who have got married after the age of 18 have not experienced marital rape, pressure for giving birth to a male

child, violence, exploitation of labor told by the women in the interviews I have made in 4 neighborhoods within the city of Van with 19 early married women who had married between the ages of 12 and 17. The claim of this study is that the child brides go through these experiences more severely due to being a child. Moreover, we can also describe marriage experiences that are peculiar for child brides. An early married girl has difficulties in explain the meaning her position. Which is to say, while she is expected to be a “bride”, to act like a “bride”, the child has difficulties in comprehending this expectation of her surroundings and may have inconvenient actions due to lack of idea about what it means to do “bride” things, “to be a bride” and so may become subject to some sanctions. If be needed to refer a tragicomic instant; situations such as the desire of the girl craving for her own family to sleep with her mother-in-law at nights; her sitting on the lap of her father-in-law and even calling her husband “older brother” for a long time may be the case.

Would it not reflect without any need to a comment the tragedy of the early marriage to have tried to kiss the hand of the interviewee of mine who looked quite older than me but as I have then learned was even one year younger, just as I had been introduced to?

The own expressions of those who have experienced early marriage are taken into consideration. Thorough interviews in a way in compliance with the core of the feminist methodology have been considered as a ground for experience sharing and an opportunity for mutual strengthening. The subject is approached via the presupposition that the marriage which is claimed to be a form of violence would lead to more severe results when the children are in question.

The early marriage shall be appraised not as a simple backwardness, economic rooted problem but as related to the secondary position of the woman.

Therefore; it is necessary to explore and question early marriage from the feminist perspective

Issues like exploitation of women labor force, sexuality, motherhood and child care in early marriage will be evaluated in consideration of feminist theories. The

necessity to benefit from also the writings on marriage and kinship beside the feminist theories while dealing with early marriage. This is not a representative study. It is limited to one region. In this sense, it does not have a representative value in terms of all early marriage practices. However, it aims to understand the issue through a group of women and explain reasons of early marriage.

The city of Van, a city from Middle Eastern Anatolia region where adolescent pregnancy is most widely seen according to THDS 2008 data, is chosen as the research area. In terms of both surface area and population, Van is bigger from other cities of the region, namely Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Hakkari, Malatya, Muş and Tunceli. While the early marriage may be considered as related to multiple points such as a form of slavery, a human rights violation, a child rights violation, it cannot be thought of independent of patriarchy.

We can state that the early marriage is one of the appearances of patriarchy. If be needed to quote the statements of Walby writing on the radical feminism

Male sexuality is forced on women through rape prostitution, pornography and other cultural practices. Women's labor is expropriated in marriage, their fertility is controlled, their creativeness is cramped with persecution and knowledge is withheld from them. (Walby, 1992; p.121)

Although this study mainly adopts a radical feminist perspective, it also benefits from other feminist approaches that can explain reasons and results of early marriage.

It is a feminist study, which is for women, about women and by women: it is for women because it intends to serve women's emantipation through an understanding of the forms of women's subordination and the nature of patriarchy. It is about women, because it questions legitimized pedophile which is affected mainly women. . It is by women, because it is built upon feminist evaluation of women's personal life experiences through interactive and participatory methodological approaches. The end product will be belonging to all women who participate in this study.

Here, the main theoretical intention is to reveal the specific operation – early marriage- of patriarchy.

I believe women are living under a system of oppression in which patriarchy determines their personal social political and even physical existence. Their subordinated position within the entire society is caused by the patriarchal content of social system. It is also important to take into consideration that “marriage” is one of the main realms of patriarchal practice.

When “patriarchy” is used for explaining almost all cases, it turns out to be a concept that cannot explain much and that needs to be explained itself. At this point, it is required to dwell upon definitions of patriarchy and to properly support the concept.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITIONS OF PATRIARCHY

This study is based on the assumption that women are subordinated. Patriarchy is the answer while the question is “liberation from what?” The world of the 21st century, which is organized around the hierarchical relations of the two sexes, is still welcoming the subordination women. Women, who constitute sixty percent of the world’s labor power, produce fifty percent of all nourishment, while having only one percent of world wealth and creating only ten percent of world income (Arat, 1998), are oppressed by patriarchy through its operations for transforming women’s biological differences to social, cultural and political sources of oppression.

Should the need arise to look at the origins of the word, the “Patriarchy” is derived from the word of “patriarkhia” which means “rule of fathers” in Greek. Patriarchy means domination of a father in the dictionary of sociology written by G. Marshall. (Marshall, 1999) According to Marshall, patriarchy, firstly, was used for describing the social systems which are based on the authority of men in the family.

The difficulty in defining patriarchy stems from its widespread existence. As Ehrelinch states, “If patriarchy is everywhere, it is difficult to construct a definition that will distinguish the variations” (Ehrelinch, 1981; p.117). Walby explains that “the concept of patriarchy is essential to capture the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of different aspects of women’s subordination, and can be developed in such a way as to take account of the different forms of gender inequality over time, class and ethnic group” (Walby, 1992; p.2).

Following this line, Connell argues:

The definition of patriarchy ranges through the origins of the subordination of women, the cultural practices that sustain it, the sexual division of labor, the formation of character and motive, the politics of sexual object choice, the role of the body in social relations, the strategies of resistance movements and the conditions for an overthrown male dominance. The theory of patriarchy is far from being a tightly-knit logical system. It is rather a network of insights and agreements about the relations between various things (1983; p.51).

The definition of the concept of patriarchy is one of the most important points in feminist studies. As Bradley points out, it is the key concept used in feminist critiques of other types of social, political and cultural theorizing (Bradley, 1989; p. 51).

Theoretical concerns towards patriarchy ask: “why has an unjustified subordination occurred, how has it been sustained, and what would life have been like without it?” (Connell, 1983; p.51). Furthermore, the definition of patriarchy is not only important but also problematic. The various types of women’s oppression make the concept complicated and hard to define. There are many different theoretical accounts of the basis and the main realms of the operations of patriarchy. However, the need to point out and conceptualize women’s shared oppression increases the need for a single concept of patriarchy.

In the book, Johnson attempts to describe patriarchy in the form of a tree. The core principles of patriarchy which are male domination, androcentrism, male identification, and obsession with control are embedded the roots of the patriarchy tree. Institutions such as economy, state, family, etc. compose the body of the tree. The branches of the tree consist of groups, organizations, communities, families, departments, work teams, etc. Finally, individuals are placed in the leaves of the patriarchy tree. (Johnson, 2005).

“To live in a patriarchal culture is to learn what’s expected of men and women- to learn the rules that regulate punishment and reward based on how individuals behave and appear.” (Johnson, 2005; p.40)

According to Johnson, patriarchy is also *male centered*, that is all the stories, news, events, history, etc. are about men.

A society is patriarchal to the degree that it promotes male privilege by being *male dominated, male identified, and male centered*.”(Johnson, 2005)

According to Bennett, patriarchy is omnipresent but its types differ and because of this we have to understand, explain and analyze patriarchy. “If we have the courage to make patriarchy -its mechanisms, its changes, its forms, its endurance- a central problem of women’s history, we will write not only better history but also history that speaks more strongly to central feminist concerns”(Bennett, 2006; p.54).

According to Bennett, patriarchy has three meanings in modern English. “First, it can refer to the ecclesiastical power of men recognized as Christian leaders, particularly within the Greek Orthodox tradition...

Second, ‘patriarchy’ can denote the legal powers of a husband/father over his wife, children, and other dependents... The third meaning of ‘patriarchy’, which I adopt here, broadly draws on feminist critiques of male power.

As Adrienne Rich has defined it, patriarchy is “a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men- by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, as well as language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is ubiquitously subsumed under the male”(Bennett, 2006; p.55). The author suggests that feminists should handle the historical approach of patriarchy; maybe they can use terms such as “preindustrial patriarchies, capitalist patriarchies and socialist patriarchies” because patriarchy is not a single system and not a principle. Feminists have to recognize varieties of patriarchy and they have to be aware of the historical differences between patriarchies. According to Bennett women are seen as ‘passive victims’ in the patriarchal system. “The history of patriarchy is not, therefore, a history of men; it is also a history of women as survivors, resisters, and agents of patriarchy.”(Bennett, 2006; p.59)

Theorists generally start with referring to and criticizing Max Weber's definition of patriarchy as a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households (Barrett, 1995; Walby, 1992; Bradley, 1989).

Walby states that this definition has evolved since Weber. The element of the domination of women by men has developed and the issue of how men dominated each other has been less emphasized (Walby, 1992; p.19).

Hartmann makes clear the relationship between the actors of this system of domination by defining patriarchy as a "set of social relations between men which have a material base, and which through hierarchy, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (Hartmann, 1981; p.15). Walby (1992) goes one step further, points out the systematic and structural character of patriarchy by arguing "patriarchy is a system of structures and practices in which men dominate and exploit women".

According to Sylvia Walby, patriarchy has to reconceptualize itself at different levels of abstraction.

"At its most abstract level it exists in the form of a system of social relations. In contemporary Britain this exists in articulation with capitalism, and with racism. However, I do not wish to imply that it is internally homologous in structure with capitalism. On the next level patriarchy is composed of six structures: the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions, such as religion, the media and education" (Walby, 1989,214) .

In light of all these explanations on patriarchy, I believe that women and men, who are biologically male and female, are genders that are socially constructed within the present sex/gender system, namely patriarchy. The social structures we are living in are patriarchal. If we leave aside the disagreements concerning the explanations of the origins of women's oppression by men, daily practices show us various forms of this oppression. The irrationality of placing women at a lower status originates from the disappearance of the material causes constructing the hierarchy of sexes, and

then the replacement of realities with the ideological speculations of patriarchy. I agree that patriarchy is

.... the creation and maintenance of men's social, ideological, sexual, political and economic dominance.... Not only the power of men in general over women in general but also the hierarchical character of male power and the ideological legitimatizing of this power as natural, normal, right, and just..... (Ramazanoğlu, 1989; p.33-34)

As Connell assumes, “we have a social dynamic which incorporates, uses and transforms biological differences” (Connell, 1983; p.60). Regarding Connell, I suggest that, patriarchy is an ideological formation in which sexual and biological differences are transformed into social, economic, cultural and political sources of oppression. In saying so, I am trying to refer both to the power relations between genders and to the wider ideological structure, which is formed by these power relations. With this respect patriarchy can be seen as something rather abstract. The materiality of patriarchy lies in its forms of existence, which are changing due to existing material structures as well as political and ideological ones.

Gayle Rubin assumes that the “sex/gender system is a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied” (cited in Hartmann, 1981). Categories, such as men, women, masculinity or heterosexuality, are products of “practice”. The various forms patriarchy takes within practice stem either from the interaction with other structures such as culture, ideology, politics and economy, or by various other forms of relations like correspondence or conflict. Patriarchy is manifested in different forms within different practices. The manifestation is determined by the components of various relationships with the agents of the practice. Thus it is possible to say that patriarchy has an incomplete, changing and a fluid nature. Due to its nature patriarchy appears in different actual forms. This approach to patriarchy enables one to conceptualize patriarchy beyond its various practices or manifestations. This interpretation of patriarchy provides conceptualizing the contextual features of patriarchy which is basically a hypothetical, ideological and incomplete formation without being lost or dispersed

in the context of the patriarchal operations. It connects different contexts without reducing them to a generalized generic. It provides a single conceptualization of patriarchy without being universal which may potentially refer to each differentiation originated from regional, religious or ethnic diversities and different kinds of relationships or articulations. In this respect, I suggest that patriarchy is neither only ideological nor material nor constructed by the articulation of ideological and material. It is rather a social abstraction that can exist within *practice*. I agree that

The categories of patriarchy are produced as participants in relations of domination and exclusion, the nature and location of boundaries between them being defined by social structure.... Analysis of their social production is and can only be the history of an ongoing set of practices, in which distinctions are made and sustained, power wielded, people formed (Connell, 1983; p.57-8).

CHAPTER 3

DEFINITION OF EARLY MARRIAGE

The relevant regulations on the definition of early marriage are contradictory. Whereas the Juvenile Protection Law considers the persons under the age of 18 as children, The Civil Code allows the people under the age of 16 to get married by the consent of the judge. The Criminal Code considers the acts committed against those under the age of 15 as sexual assault. Besides, the Criminal Code has made consideration of the sexual abuse of a girl at the age of fifteen as a crime conditional on complaint. Consequently, the national legislation has, by at one hand considering those at the age of 18 as children and at the other hand making the consideration of sexual abuse of a girl at the age fifteen as a crime conditional on complaint, made up a contradictory situation. It is possible to state that the definition of the child bride vary upon the code given. According to the Turkish Civil Code, girls who have not turned 17 yet, according to the Turkish Criminal Code, girls who have not yet turned 15 and according to the Juvenile Protection Law girls who have not yet turned 18 are considered as child brides.

This study, as in compliance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child to which Turkey is also a party, has been laid out upon the admittance that the individuals under the age of 18 are children. That the children are different from the mature, in need of particular concern, education and nutrition and people within this category are not convenient for marriage are substantial assumptions for this study.

Sentence of prison has been foreseen for the imams who perform a religious marriage ceremony without the presence of official marriage contract. However, in practice, by eight amnesties granted since 1993, this law has not been virtually implemented.

According to a study of Erkal named “Review of the Social Structure of the Southeast Region”, the kin marriages, with a rate of 51%, and polygamy, with the rate of 10,2%, are observed in the city of Urfa. When we have a look at the distribution of early marriages within the region: the rate of those married under the age of 15 are 36,9%, those in between the ages of 16 and 20 6,6% and those between the ages of 21 and 25 are 17,5 %. In the whole region, 58% of the marriages are actualized by the decisions of the elders of the families.

Education of female children, raising consciousness of the families, prevention of the consanguineous marriages, strengthening the women in economical sense, reflection of the religious judgments, customs and traditions in a right way are regarded as necessary precautions in this study.

3.1 Legal Regulations about Early Marriage

3.1.1. National Legislation

3.1.1.1. Constitution

The basic norm relating to the equality principle in Turkish Law system is in the Article 10 of the Constitution with the title “Equality before the Law”. According to this article;

“All individuals are equal without any discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such considerations.

Men and women have equal rights. The State shall have the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice.

No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class.

State organs and administrative authorities shall act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings and in utilization of all forms of public services.”

“According to the Article No.42 of the Constitution with the title “Right and Duty of Training and Education”;

“No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education...”

“Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in state schools....”

The state shall provide scholarships and other means of assistance to enable students of merit lacking financial means to continue their education...”

Moreover, according to the Article 90 of the Constitution with the title of “Ratification of International Treaties”, it is stated that;

“International agreements duly put into effect bear the force of law. No appeal to the Constitutional Court shall be made with regard to these agreements, on the grounds that they are unconstitutional. In the case of a conflict between international agreements in the area of fundamental rights and freedoms duly put into effect and the domestic laws due to differences in provisions on the same matter, the provisions of international agreements shall prevail.”

3.1.1.2. Turkish Civil Code- The Article of 4721

Of the Turkish Civil Code;

According to the Article No. 10 that regulates the “General terms of capacity to act”

“Every mature person possessing distinguishing power and not in the state of disability is deemed to possess full legal capacity.”

According to the Article 11 with the title “Lawful Age”;

“According to the Law, the age of majority is eighteen (full).

A person becomes sui juris by marriage.”

According to the Article No.12 with the title “Recognition of full age”;

“Infant completing the age of fifteen may become adult by his/her own will or under parents’ consent subject to court decision.”

As also seen in the articles given above, the age of majority considered in our Civil Code is eighteen. However, in some situations “early accession to full age” might be the case. Early accession to full age originates in two forms:

- a) Accession to full age by marriage
- b) Recognition of full age by court decision.

The New Turkish Civil Code that has entered into force as from 1st of January, 2002 involves regulations those are in compliance with the articles of the Constitution prohibiting the “discrimination between genders”. The age of marriage which had varied for male and female citizens in the former Code has been increased regardless of male-female difference and in compliance with the conditions of our country and contemporary tendencies. Thus, trying to prevent the disadvantages of early marriage.

The Turkish Civil Code has regulated the “age” subject which is amongst the conditions for capacity for marriage in its Article 124. According to it;

“Men or women are not allowed to get married before they turn eighteen.

Whereas, the judge may, in extraordinary situations and with very important reasons permit a man or a woman who are at the age of sixteen to get married. If possible, the parents or the guardian shall be heard before the decision.”

What meant by “in extraordinary situations” and “very important reasons” that are written down in the article are basically the cases in which the woman is pregnant or owns a child. The judge may also permit the marriage of people who are at the age of sixteen in cases which the couple has already been living together or in other cases where the woman is aggrieved. In this case, the approval of the parent is not a requirement; they are solely consulted if possible.

According to the Article No.134 of the Turkish Civil Code;

“Men and women who are to be getting married shall apply together to the registry Office of the resident place of one.

Registrar of marriages is the mayor or an official that he/she would appoint in places where there is a municipality; and the headman in the villages.”

According to the Article No.142 of the Turkish Civil Code;

“The registrar of marriages shall ask both parties of the marriage whether they would like to get married with each other. The marriage becomes actualized by the time they verbally response. The officer expresses that the marriage has been made. By mutual consent an in accordance with the law.”

According to the Article No.143 of the Turkish Civil Code;

“As the wedding ceremony gets over, the registrar of marriages hands a family record booklet to each couple. Religious ceremony of the marriage cannot take place before presentation of the family record booklet. The validity of the marriage does not depend on the religious ceremony.”

As seen in the relevant articles above of the Turkish Civil Code the only valid form of marriage is the official one. Applications to the official authorities before the marriage and registration of the marriage to the state register of persons after the marriage are compulsory.

3.1.1.3. Turkish Criminal Code- The Article Of 5237

According to the Article 103 of the Turkish Criminal Code;

With the title of “Child molestation”;

“(1) any person who abuses a child sexually is sentenced to imprisonment from three years to eight years.

Sexual molestation covers the following acts;

a) All kinds of sexual attempt against children who are under the age of fifteen or against those attained the age of fifteen but lack of ability to understand the legal consequences of such act,

b) Abuse of other children sexually by force, threat or fraud.

(2) In case of performance of sexual abuse by inserting an organ or instrument into a body, the offender is sentenced to imprisonment from eight years to fifteen years.

(3) In case of performance of sexual abuse by antecedents, second or third degree blood relations, step father, guardian, educator, trainer, nurse and other persons rendering health services and responsible from protection and observation of the child, or by undue influence based on public office, the punishment to be imposed according to the above subsections is increased by one half.

(4) In case of execution of sexual abuse against the children listed in paragraph (a) of first subsection by use of force or threat, the punishment to be imposed is increased by one half.

(5) The provisions relating to felonious injury are additionally applied in case the acts of force and violence cause severe injury to the person subject to sexual abuse.

(6) In case of deterioration of corporal and spiritual health of the victim as a result of offense, the offender is sentenced to imprisonment not less than fifteen years.

(7) In case the offense results with death or vegetal existence of the victim, the offender is punished with heavy life imprisonment.”

The acts of child molestation have been defined as crime in the text of law; whereas the expression of sexual harassment is used for the acts against the adult, for the acts against children the expression of molestation is used.

According to the first paragraph of Article 103 of the Turkish Criminal Code with the title of “Child molestation”, the crime of sexual abuse committed against children under 15 by his/her will or by force, threat, fraud or any other reason affecting the will shall be punished by imprisonment from three to eight years; according to the second paragraph of article, In case of performance of sexual abuse

by inserting an organ or instrument into a body, the accused may be sentenced to imprisonment from eight to fifteen years.

In the society of ours, the families marry off their daughters who are under the age of fifteen. In case this situation is somehow detected, procedural act is performed on the accused and his parents and parents of the victim due to accessory to a criminal act. Even the victim has become seventeen and got officially married with the accused, since there is no similar regulation such as the Article 434 of the abolished Turkish Criminal Code No. 765, there is no possibility of avoiding this penalty via marriage. Hence, the husband of the victim (accused), his mother, father, father in law and mother in law are tried in a court and punished.

According to the Article No.104 with the title “Sexual intercourse between/with persons not attained the lawful age” of The Turkish Civil Code;

“ Any person who is in sexual intercourse with a child who completed the age of fifteen without using force, threat and fraud, is sentenced to imprisonment from six months to two years upon filing of a complaint.”

Whereas, sexual relation with a person who is infant has been defined as a substantive felony in the article in question, in case a child who is under the age of fifteen is married off unofficially, the husband who gets into sexual contact with this child would not be punished unless there is a complain. Herein, the right to complain is granted solely to the victim. In case there is no complain by the victim, the person would not get punished.

It is open to discussion how clearly the people who are under the age of eighteen can appraise this concept of complain, even if they had been rendered mature by court decision. It is not easy for a fifteen year old girl to complain about her husband at the expense of imprisoning the person chosen to be her husband; yet the result of such as a case aggrieves mostly the girl in question.

When we basically examine in terms of Turkish Criminal Code, a penalty would be case for the accused male who is to get married with the female child unofficially in scope of articles 103 and 104. Additionally, the same penalty is also foreseen in

scope of Article 38 of the Turkish Criminal Code for the legal representative, parent or judicial factor who has supported, allowed this marriage as solicitors.

According to the Article 38 with the title “Solicitation” of the Turkish Criminal Code;

“(1) A person soliciting another person to commit offense is punished according to the degree of crime committed.”

According to the Article 230 with the title “Multiple or fraudulent marriage, religious marriage ceremony” of the Turkish Criminal Code;

“(1) A person who marries to another person although he/she is legally married at that time is punished with imprisonment from six months to two years.

(2) Any person who officially gets married to a person known as married to another person although he is bachelor, is punished according to the provisions of above subsection.

(3) Any person who attempts to get married by concealing his/her identity is sentenced to imprisonment from three months to one year.

(4) The statute of limitation for the offenses defined in above subsections start to run as of the date of decision stipulating cancellation of marriage.

(5) The couples who marry by arranging religious ceremony without executing official marriage transactions are sentenced to imprisonment from two months to six months. Both the public action and the punishment imposed thereof, is abated with all its consequences when the civil marriage ceremony is accomplished.

(6) Any person who conducts a religious marriage ceremony without seeing the certificate of marriage is punished with imprisonment from two months to six months.

As clearly seen in the given article, the marriage ceremony publicly known as religious wedding ceremony or imam marriage has no official validity as so those

who perform a religious wedding ceremony for those who have not had official wedding ceremony would be punished.

3.1.1.4. Juvenile Protection Law No.5395

According to the Article 3 of the Juvenile Protection Law;

(1) For the purposes of this Law, the terms used herein shall have the following meanings:

a) Juvenile: Any individual that has not yet completed age eighteen, regardless of whether they have reached full legal age earlier. Within this scope:

1. Juvenile in need of protection: Any juvenile whose physical, mental, moral, social or emotional development and personal safety is in danger, who are neglected or abused, or who are victims of crime,

It is possible to state that the definition of the child bride varies upon the law. Girls who have not yet turned 17 according to the Turkish Civil Code, girls who have not yet turned 15 according to the Turkish Penal Code, girls who have not yet turned 18 according to the Juvenile Protection Law are considered as child brides. A contradiction between the codes is the case. This is also the case for male children.

3.2.1.5. The Family Protection Act, Law no. 4320

According to the Article 1 of the Family Protection Act;

If a spouse or child or another member of the family living under the same roof or any member of the family which has got separation order by the court or has right to legal separation or live separately despite being married is subject to abuse, and notification is made either by the victim or by the Public Prosecutor's Office , in addition to the provisions of the Turkish Civil Code, taking into consideration the specific circumstances, the Judge of the Family Court can pass one or more of the following rulings or take any other measures that are deemed appropriate The offending spouse or the other member of the family may be ordered:

(a) not to engage in violent or threatening behavior against the family members,

- (b) To leave the shared home and relinquish it to the other members of the family and not to approach the home in which the other members of the family are living together or separately, or their workplaces,
- (c) Not to damage the property of the other members of the family
- (d) Not to disturb the other members of the family through the use of communication devices,
- (e) To surrender any weapons or similar instruments to law-enforcement officials,
- (f) Not to arrive at the house where the victim of the violence lives or at the workplace when under the influence of alcohol or other intoxicating substances, or not to use such substances in these places,
- (g) To apply to a health care provider for cure or treatment.”

Due to having no civil marriage, the victims of the children marriages cannot usually also enjoy these protective measures of the Family Protection Act, Law no. 4320. It is also striking that there is no provided uniformity between the judges in respect of implementation of the law. Part of the judges apply the Law when unofficial marriages are the case, without seeking precondition of civil marriage whereas part of them apply it solely to the civil marriages.

3.2.2. International Legislation

3.2.2.1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the year of 1948 was published in Turkey in the Official Gazette in the year of 1949. According to the Article 16 of the Declaration;

“(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses...”

3.2.2.2. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

According to the Article 1 of the “Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women” which was adopted by the United Nations in 1979 and Turkey has been a party of since 1985;

“For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.”

According to the Article 16 of the same Convention;

“1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- (a) The same right to enter into marriage;
- (b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
- (c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
- (d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
- (e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;

2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for

marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.”

3.2.2.3. Convention on the Rights of the Children

Convention on the Rights of the Child, promulgated by the United Nations in 1990 began to be implemented in Turkey in 1995.

Every human being below the age of eighteen years is considered as child.

According to the Article 12 of the Convention;

“States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.”

It is stated in the Article 36 of the Convention that;

“States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare.”

CHAPTER 4

DATA RELATED TO ADOLESCENT

Although data which is come from TDHS, 2008 doesn't focus on under 15 years old, it is still most reliable source in comparison with official sources. According to TDHS in 2008, 13.227.500 adolescent exist in Turkey.

Table 1: Adolesant Childbearing and Pregnancy

	Live Birth	Currently Pregnant	Start Childbearing
TDHS-2008	%4	%2	%6
TDHS-2003			%8

Source: THDS, 2008:72

The TDHS-2008 shows that “6 percent of adolescents have started childbearing: 4 percent have had a live birth, and 2 percent are currently pregnant with their first child. Since TDHS-2003, there has been important decline in the proportion of adolescent who have begun childbearing, from 8 percent to the current level of 6 percent.” (TDHS-2008: 73)

Table 2: Age of Starting Childbearing

Age	Starting child bearing
15	Less than %1
19	%13

Source: THDS, 2008:73

“The proportion of teenager who have starter having children increases rapidly with age. While less than 1 percent of women age 15 have started childbearing. 13 percent of women age 19 is either a mother or is pregnant with their first child.” (TDHS-2008: 74)

Tablo 3: Differences between Urban and Rural Teenagers

	Urban	rural
Start child bearing	%5	%9

Source: THDS, 2008:74

“Rural teenagers are more likely than urban teenagers to have started childbearing.” (TDHS-2008: 74)

Tablo 4: Regional Differences about Adolescent Childbearing

Region (NUTS1)	Percentage who have begun childbearing
Central East Anatolia	10.4
Aegean	9.3
West Black Sea	8.3
Central Anatolia	7.9
West Anatolia	7.6
West Marmara	5.9
Northeast Anatolia	5.2
Southeast Anatolia	5.1
Istanbul	5.0
Mediterranean	4.5
East Marmara	3.9
East Black Sea	3.1

Source: THDS, 2008:75

“Teenage childbearing varies across region of residence, ranging from 3 percent in east Balck Sea, region to 10 percent in central east Anatolia. Surprisingly, as in the TDHS-2003 (13 percent), women in the Aegean region have one of the highest levels of teenage childbearing in Turkey with 9 percent.” (TDHS-2008: 74)

Table 5: Relations between Adolescent Childbearing and Education

Education	Percentage who have begun childbearing
No education/ primary in complete	7.2
First level primary	7.6
Second level primary	1.0
High school and higher	3.9

Source: THDS, 2008:75

“There is an inverse raltionship between early childbearing and education. Teenagers with less education are more likely to start childbearing earlier than better educated women. 7 percent of teenagers with no education had begun childbearing compared with 4 percent of those with high school and higher education.” (TDHS-2008: 75)

Table 6: Wealth Quintile and Adolescent Childbearing

Wealth quintile	Percentage who begun childbearing
Lowest	8.0
Second	11.1
Middle	4.8

Fourth	4.3
Highest	1.7

Source: THDS, 2008:76

“By wealth status, the proportion of teenagers who have begun childbearing increases from 2 percent among those living in households in the highest wealth quintile to 8-11 percent among those in the second and lowest wealth quintiles.” (TDHS-2008: 75)

According to survey, there is appositive relationship between taking prenatal care and education.

Table 7: Relations with Education Level and Taking Prenatal Care

Education	Doctor	Nurse	Nothing
No education/ primary in complete	74,4	3,8	21,5
First level primary	90,5	2,8	6,5
Second level primary	95,4	1,7	2,9
High school and higher	98,4	0,9	0,5

Source: THDS, 2008:77

Child mortality and mother of age is also very connected. Child mortality is higher at mothers who are under 20.

Table 8: Age of Mother at Birth and Child Mortality

Mothers' age at birth	Under-five mortality

<20	45
20-29	29
30-39	37
40-49	34

Source: THDS, 2008:136

“The relationship between mothers’ age at delivery and infant mortality generally exhibits a U-shape curve. Infant mortality rate is substantially higher among children born to mothers less than 20 and those ages 40 and over.” (TDHS-2008: 136)

CHAPTER 5

PREVIOUS WORK ABOUT EARLY MARRIAGE

5.1 Early Marriage Report of Prime Ministry Human Right Office

These days, early marriage has aroused a lot of interest. Early marriage is defined as a standing problem in EU 2008 Turkey progress report. After that, Prime Ministry Human Right Office (Başbakanlık İnsan Hakları Başkanlığı) has started to search early marriage thought their district committee. These reports which are coming through district committee focus on mainly reasons of early general findings of the report that families support early marriage in order to protect territorial integrity. Thus girls, under 18, are forced to marry with their relatives. Families' socio economic conditions affect how far they are forcing their daughter to marry. Families forced to children to marry at their early age if their economic situation is bad. Moreover some acceptances of families such as "girls don't go to school or girls don't work" cause early marriage. Families don't get any opinion from girls when planning their lives. Girls don't have right to speak about their own future. Another reason which is mention in the report is aiming to reduce number of family members which are share same sources of food. Early marriage became a survival strategy for families. Families want to feed fewer people as could as possible. Sending girls to their husbands family is seen very ordinary because girls are seen already belong to husbands family. They are kind of guest family member. Sometimes families' protective attitudes can play role at early marriage. Families anticipate better life for their girls in her new family. In addition to this they evaluate marriage as a way of protection against violence, harassment and abuse. Also marriage discharge the girls' family from protect her honor. After the marriage, the husband and his family is charge of the duty. Betrothed in the cradle and "berdel"

are also increase the child marriage. “Berdel” is a kind of barter. A family gives their girls in order to take a new one for own son. This practice usually use for avoiding to pay bride price, instead of paying bride price they gave their girl to other family. A girl can used a bride price for her brother, who wants to marry, without considering her age.

According to the report, the families who forced to their child to marry at an early age usually believe that Islam allows to child marriages. This estimation allows them to force their child to marry.

In order to manipulate the girls, family consent is represented as a holy thing with the help of charm and witchcraft. It makes very difficult to come out against marriage under these circumstances for girls.

Probability of elopement is directing the families to marry off their children. In some instances, elopement really occurs. Physical developments accompany with emotional sharing and intimacy in adolescent period. When marriage is seen only rightful way for flirtation by young couples, they chose elopement. It is very obvious that if they have to chance for flirtation they wouldn't choice to marry.

Another reason which is mentioned in the report that girls sometimes perceive marriage as a game, kind of play house. Moreover, girls expect to be rescued from violence, work load in the household with the help of marriage. Step father or step mother also became a propellant power for early marriage.

The report also mentions consequences of early marriage. Early marriage cause early pregnancy inevitably thus mother mortality increases during the delivery. Early motherhood brings considerable responsibility about raising children and it is very difficult for mother who is still child. Early marriages can not be done by using civil marriage code thus women are deprived from all legal rights. In addition to that right to be a child, play game, right of education and being healthy are also deprived from them. Early marriage reinforces the gender roles in the household. Responsibilities which are expected to carry by a child cause physical and psychological damage.

Run away from home, attempted suicide, psychological problems such as anxiety disorder, depression are adverse consequence of early marriage.

Early marriage is considered among the reasons for girls' running away from home also in the Report for Missing Children which was prepared by the Prime Ministry of Turkey Human Rights Presidency in 2008. Early married children who can not stand oppression run away.

5.2 Republic of Turkey Grand National Assembly Commission for Equal Opportunity for Men and Women Early Marriage Sub-Committee Report:

Besides that the sub commission is establish under the Women and Men Equality Commission at the parliament which's aim examining early marriage problem in Turkey. They examined child marriage issue at four provinces. These are Kırıkkale, İzmir, Urfa and Diyarbakır. They have published a report about the issue. Although Turkish Civil Code allows marrying at 17 years old, in this report marriage, which is done younger than 18 years old, is accepted early marriage.

In this report, patriarchal family structure is seen main reason of early marriage. According to report, marriage has a significant legitimacy thus judicial conformity hasn't been considered most of the time. In 2009, 675 girls and 18 boys left to primary education by reason of marriage or engagement. Thus early marriage is evaluated as women problem in the report. Reasons of it are evaluated in five groups such as economic deprivation, religious and traditional believes lack of education, property relations, and violence in the family. Consequences of it are evaluated in two main groups. Firstly, strengthen of women's secondary position and reduce of women's life special preferences, contain women in vicious cycle of ignorance, poverty and dependence. Early marriages both reduce household population and bring financial relief with the help of bride price for short period of time. In some occasions girls could be willing to it due to the dsire of better life. The repor emphasizes the connection between the economic conditions of family and the frequencies of early marriage. Families in low economic statues have a tendency to marry off their child at an early age. Girls are seen a guest member of family, girls' father family is not evaluated her real family. Believing that Girls 'real family is

prospective husbands' families normalize to early marriage. Husband's family wants to take bride as little as possible because they think little bride, who is submissive and abedient, can adapt to new family with less problem.

Trying to protect girls from sexual harassment and violence and preventing antenuptial pregnancy and sexual intercourse are mentioned in the report as reasons of early marriage. Marriage is being imposed as final point that every girl reached sooner or later thus most of the time girl can't find any persuasive reason to oppose it.

Family members who are getting off at an early age and friends from neighbourhoods are also constitute kind of pressure on girls and normalize early marriage for girls. Fearing of "remain a spinster" and proverbs³ which are support early marriage also push girls to marry at an early age.

Limited sources of family usually are not spent for girls' education thus short life of education hasn't left any life chances except marriage.

Step mother and step father existence in the household and girls' physical development in the adolescent period are also mention as reasons of early marriage in the report.

Connection between property relations and early marriage is intense. "Levirat" and "Sororat" are occurring due to protect territorial integrity. In case of levirat, widow women get married off with ex-husbands' brother. Sorarat means that widow men get married off ex-wives' sister. In both cases reason of them are avoiding to pay bride price again and trying to prevent potential step mothers and step fathers' existence in the household.

³ For instance, "Kız beşikte, çeyiz sandıkta" (when girls are cradle her dowery should be ready), "on beşindeki kız ya erdedir ya yerde" (girls who is 15 either marry or die), "demir tavında dilber çağında", "Erken evlenen döl alır erken kalkan yol alır" (if you marry early you can get baby, if you get up early, you can reach end of the journey), "Erken evlenen yanılmamış" (a person who get married at an early age wasn't wrong about that decision)

The report says that girls who are victims of sexual assault get married off immediately with someone else or violator in order to save her honor.

In the report, it is emphasizing that, early marriage is not even considering as a problem especially in Urfa. Early marriage is conserved as a harmless tradition.

Deprivation of education is seems to both reason of early marriage and consequences of it. It is a kind of vicious circle. Uneducated families married off their child at an early age and girls who get married at an early age devoid of education. Deprivation of education causes not being able to joining to labour market and not having a proffession.

Early and risky pregnancies are seen as consequences of early marriage in the report. In addition to that, because not having right to speak and economic independence child pregnants take less medical help than adult pregnant. Because of adolescent mothers are in their development process, responsibility of raising children hasn't developed completely.

Table 9: Medical and phsicological problems of Adolescent mothers and their bebies

	<i>medical</i>	<i>psychological</i>
infections Head-pelvis incompatibility Heavy hemorrhages Postpartum problems Frequent Pregnancy Disruption of the general well-being	mothers insufficinet increase in the body weight Corpulence, over increase in the body weight preeclampsia Anemia Sexually transmitted	Mothers Ceasing educational institutions Limitation in social activities Loss of job opportunities Poverty Divorcement and seperation Social Isolation Stress/depression Use of substances Frequent Pregnancy

Maternal mortality		
	Babies Low birth weight Premature birth Sudden infant death syndrome Acute infections Accidents Infant mortality	Babies Growth retardation Abuse Behavioral disorders/ Use of substances Failure at and quitting the school Unemployment/poverty unwanted pregnancy

Source: Republic of Turkey Grand National Assembly Commission for Equal Opportunity for Men and Women Early Marriage Sub-Committee Report, 2009:21

5.3. Data of Social Democracy Foundation about Early Marriage

Social Democracy Foundation's young study group has searched early marriage in three provinces, İzmir, Diyarbakır, Urfa. They have declared some percentage about that. According to SODEV's data %40 of girl child is forced to marry under the age of 16. They emphasize that it is not a problem that belong to eastern part of the Turkey. Early marriage has been occurring also in western part of the Turkey. % 17.6 of girl child is married under the age of 16 in Izmir. However percentage of the early marriage is more dramatic in Urfa. The rate of marriage under the age of 18 reach %69.6. (SODEV-2009:13)

The drawbacks of the early marriage are described as follows in the study of Sodev (Social Democracy Foundation): Early marriage intensifies the women's inequivalent position in the society, reduces their life options and renders them indefensible against violence. They are not able to practice contraception methods since they do not have sufficient knowledge on sexuality.

The families are ablo to choose the way of marrying their daughters off when they feel that their disciplines on their daughters are diminished.

According to the Report, families, by marrying their daughters off, can both prove themselves that they they control over their daughters and prevent their daughters from becoming friends with males. As it is seen as a situation which jeopardizes the respectfulness of the family to date with men.

Sodev, in its given study, considers the extension of the compulsory education term as the solution.

According to the study of Erkal⁴, the rate of the women that were married off before the age of 19 is 58,5 while the rate of the women that were married off before the age of 19 in Urfa is 69,6 (Erkal, 2005; p.53).

5.4 Findings of Izmir Marriage Counselling Center about Early Marriage

Giving place to the inferences made by Izmir center for family consulting⁵ upon the applications made to itself; stereotyping, marrying off and expecting a responsibility that they are not ready to and cannot undertake from theb children who are in need of the support, protection of the society for growing up is firstly considered as a violation of child rights. Negligence and abuse of the children via marriage cause the growth of the child to be cut. Marriage conducts the children away from education and accordingly causes them to live their future lives in poverty. It is known that, within the marriage, the children are indefensible against every kind of violence, are exposed to sexual abuse, their reproductive healths are put at risk. Abortus, abortion, negative experiences they have in the birth process caused by pregnancy at early ages cause children to have chronic physical and mental health problems.

Childbirth at an early age causes permanent disability and health problems on the baby to be born. In early marriages; together with mental health problems such as going into depression, suicide attempt, non participation in social life, using substances, frequent partner changing; behaviours being involved in prostitution, incapacity for anger management, resorting to violence are of the risky behaviours

⁴ Dicle University, Department of Sosyology, Assistant. Dr. Rüstem Erkal

⁵<http://www.izmir-shcek.gov.tr/?m=Sayfalar&id=301>

that were observed. In early and forced marriages, it is known that the couples are trying to resume their relations under stress and pressure and the violent power relation is keeping its place. Besides, it is understood that in most cases the domestic violence is inclined through the women from man and from the woman to the children. Unfaithfulness between the partners, one or more official or non-official marriage attempts when the marriage gets over, being aggrieved part in the relations with the opposite sex are oftenly faced problems. Because of the above mentioned problems, experiences the results of more than one families' being broken by the way of marriages brings the problems of children's being taken care by stepbrothers or stepsisters, step parents or by the relatives and accordingly causes some children to get into the marriage institution at an early age. It has been observed that the children who were born by the result of early marriages live by the risk of being abused and neglected by their parents due to immature parental attitudes. Nevertheless, another study made at primary school, by the same institution, in the village of Damlacık which is bound to the city of Izmir also shows that the educational lives of girls have been overshadowed by the ideal of marriage. Accordingly, it has been stated that the pupils' success at classes and general motivation of being educated until the 5th grade are high whereas in the 6th and following years, the motivation of the children begins to decrease.

In the report, the main grounds for this were stated as the family and environment pressure on the children by the puberty, children's' inability to make future plans caused by having the marriage idea on the agenda arising from the social structure.

5.5 Approach of Presidency of Religious Affairs about Eary Marriage

Performing early marriage due to religious reasons has highly been contradicted in the reports prepared for both SODEV and the sub commission of The Great National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey by the Presidency of Religious Affairs. Despite the religion is virtually used as a justification of early marriage, it has been contradicted on an official basis. According to the Presidency of Religious Affairs, religion is an institution that has positive contributions in respect of human rights and women rights. The problems faced in the women's rights issue are mainly considered as problems caused by the social structure and the region; the reason why

these problems are seen as caused by religion is perceived as the tendency of the people to have their own faults approved by the religion. It has been emphasized by the Presidency of Religious Affairs that the Qur'an has concluded the marriage contract as a contract of which the responsibilities are serious. Presidency of Religious Affairs states that the marriage contract is a confidence contract in which the parties fulfill the responsibilities they undertake and promise to fulfill the obligations incumbent upon them and thus it shall depend on free will. It has been pointed out that, since the age in early marriage is low such a contract would not be actualized.

Presidency of Religious Affairs, relying on hadiths, verses and instances of implementations in the Ottoman, emphasizes that the religion involves no early marriage. It has further been argued that, as the civil wedding ceremony bears all the conditions of the religious one, the former renders the later unnecessary.

“...actualization of the marriage by the free wills of the parties and without any pressure and respect for all kinds of rights of women including equity are an important way to ensure permanent peace and happiness within the family as well as being a necessity of the basic principles of the Islamic religion and of the sensitivity of the sunnah that Mohammed the Prophet shows. There are several rumors of hadith that indicate that Aisha had been 17 or 18 years old when she married the Prophet.” (TBMM-2009, Commission Report, p.23).

It is understood from the surat meaning “And test the orphans [in their abilities] until they reach marriageable age. Then if you perceive in them sound judgment, release their property to them.” (An-Nisâ’: 4/6) in Qur'an that the age that they can manage to control their goods is also the age that they can manage marriage. It is emphasized in this surat that the orphans shall reach puberty as well as be of full age.” (TBMM-2009, Commission Report, p.24)

In this respect, the period which is convenient for the people to make the marriage contract on their own will is the one that they become capable. The biological development has to be taken account in this point.

“While the courts in Ottoman period had been deciding upon the judicial opinion of the majority, marriage of children were prohibited by the Article 6 of the Ordinance of Family Law dated 1917.

The Ottoman Empire which had been ruled by the Islamic Law has both prohibited marrying off the children and concluded that the juvenile persons may get married without their parents’ consent and make the contract on their own.

In the Ottoman Empire period, the cadis used to grant permission as the chief judge and the imams, by doing the job done by municipal officers, used to execute the marriage and register it by writing it down on the record.

As also understood from this implementation, preconditions such as consent, equity, publicity, proclamation, registration are sought according to the Islamic religion. All these conditions are present within the official marriage in our country and thus the conditions sought in religious sense are met. Hence, the official marriage, including the above mentioned religious preconditions, does also perform as religious marriage.” (TBMM- 2009 commission report, p.24)

5.6 Data from Cedaw-2004 Shadow Report

If we need to mention the data in the CEDAW Shadow report, 53% of the couples without civil marriage are in Eastern Anatolia. Tribal type large family structures in Eastern and South Eastern Anatolia where feudal social structure still reigns, patriarchal gender roles and related value judgment are legitimized by religion and tradition, and consequently they constitute the source of discrimination against women. According to data obtained by interviewing 13.673 women in 6 years shows that 16.09% of them married between the ages of 10-14 while 64.69% married between the ages of 15-19. Even the marriage age the Civil Code sets forth is 17, the families do not cope with the law and thus civil marriage is not practiced for girls marrying at earlier ages. Children who were born are often registered as the child of their mother-in-law. 41 % of the women surveyed in the same research had a marriage to a relative without their consents. In large families it is considered that first degree relatives (father-in-law, mother-in-law, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, uncles, son of uncles etc.) have an authority on women and her marriage. In the

region, the women have no right to divorce. It is common that women wanting to divorce are punished with death by their own families. Besides, since they need to have civil marriage and birth certificate, it is impossible for several women to enjoy their legal rights due to lack of birth certificates, even if they wish to.

Referring the data on education from the shadow report of the CEDAW since being married off early affects the educational life of female children directly, the rate of schooling is 57.2% for the girls while it is 74.3% for the boys. This situation is explained by reasons such as traditional sense of religion, late registration of the girls to the registers of persons, consideration as an assistant for the mother, marrying off at an early age.

Education of female children, raising consciousness of the families, prevention of the consanguineous marriages, strengthening the women in economical sense, reflection of the religious judgments, customs and traditions in a right way are regarded as necessary precautions in this study.

4.7 Early Marriage as a International Issue

The aim of the conference organized by the Association of Women's Human Rights-New Solutions with the title of Action Strategies Against Forced Marriage⁶ (Istanbul -2008) was the prevention of violation of right or developing offers in the direction of actualizing the legal and administrative regulations that would provide the necessary/required intervention by rendering the issue of forced marriage on an intercultural basis. As the forced marriage is in an international dimension, the conference is crucial. Dr. Matthias Bartke, who is a member of Hamburg-family, health and consumer protection society and among the attendants of the conference, stated that most of the women in Germany who have been married off were mainly immigrant women. According to a study they did in 2005, of the married of women by force, half were from Turkey, 16 percent were from Afghanistan, and 25 percent were from other countries.

⁶ <http://bianet.org/bianet/bianet/107638-zorla-evlendirmeye-karsi-cozum-kadini-guclendirmekten-geciyor>

Barte stats that this situation is a result of three types of marriage: The marriage of immigrant men who live in Germany with women from their own countries, sending the immigrant women who live in Germany to their own countries to get married or marriages performed in order to residence in Germany.

A data on increase caused by being immigrant on the disadvantages of early marriage is aktarıyor by Gül Ayşe Başarı from Orient Express which has been founded by and for protection of the rights of the immigrant women. She expresses the troubles they experience while aiding the immigrant women from Turkey as follows: “The Austrian criminal norms do respect the human rights in cases of domestic violence; whereas the immigrant women are not granted the residence permit. Thus, it becomes impossible for the woman to survive on her own.”

Women who has come together in order to offer solutions against forced marriage and share their experiences with each other agree upon that, in order to eliminate the human rights violations of women “legal regulations must be set”. Raising awareness of the policemen, the judges, the lecturers as well as training the women on the issue of their rights is amongst the solution offers. But the most crucial of all is women’s handling their own struggle.

In addition to these studies,

According to the research done in five cities which the highest number of immigrated families live by Toygar⁷ with 6300 women; 50, 8 percent of those who have ceased primary education; 45, 7 percent of women who have had second and higher education have said “I have married without my own consent”. Amongts the bachelor at present, those who have ceased the primary education have, at the rate of 57 percent and those who have had second and higher education have, at the rate of 9, 3 percent, said “I consider that I will be married off without my own consent”. Toygar interprets the early marriage as a form of violence based on sexuality. He states that legal sanctions would not be sufficient in prevention of early marriage, which he argues, is a human rights violation.

⁷ The Principal of Ege University Application and Research Center for Women’s Studies Prof. Dr. Nurselen Toygar,

CHAPTER 6

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO (EARLY) MARRIAGE

6.1. Marriage as a destiny, Heterosexism and Family Ideology

In this section we shall focus on the fact that marriage for women is the only form of lifestyle. The heterosexual assumptions lying on the basis of marriage shall be discussed and the cloak of “sanctity” which legalizes domestic violence and sexual abuse and ensures the repetition of itself in every situation shall be problematized. Initially radical feminists whose analysis pertain to a specific area and social feminists developing theories on the economy policies of marriage shall be included.

Radical feminist theory is suitable to understand and explain early marriage. Marriage seems to be a private issue and is evaluated as a matter that is interested spouses. Actually marriage is very political issue. As radical feminist says marriage is an institution in which women are controlled. Radical feminism accepted that women’s oppression is the first form of any oppressed and oppressor relationship. Radical feminism is helpful to disclosure political issues which are represented as private issues. Actually radical feminism contends that personal is political.

As expressed with the slogan “Private is political” radical feminists fundamentally object to the ontological segregation that is assumed to exist between the private area and public area.

It means that the area which has been historically identified with and allocated to women is actually not so separate from the public area. This attitude, in addition to ensuring that the problems of women which are actually communal and in fact are not women’s problems alone but problems caused by patriarchy, sexism, and thus the resolution of these problems was not only up to women and that actually the

problem were “public” problems. It is a reminder to us that while combating the attitude that problems such as sexual exploitation, housework, child care are construed as women’s problem women are not alone, we can share all problems that we considered to be “private” and that we can politicize the generation of a common resolution.

Radical feminism’s most famous motto is personal is political. This phrase indicates that some issues which is considering as a very personal is actually very connect political issues. Family and marriage such an issue that is usually considered as a private but they are very political through the eyes of radical feminism. Thus it seems to me that early marriage can be assed with the radical feminist perspective. First of all I would like to general approach of radical feminism.

Radical feminist theory was developed by the group of activist women in New York and Boston at the end of 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s. These activist women who participate anti war demonstrations reacted to socialist men who saw women movement as a secondary issue. The group of women disintegrated from socialists and they started to theorize radical feminist thought. They claim that women should see themselves as a caste or as a class and expend all energy to eradicate patriarchy.

Radical feminism was developed among women who believed that the biological differences men and women did not determine personal characteristics and did not carry weight socially who longed for a society where all discrimination based on gender would be abolished. Later, others who described themselves also as radical feminists claimed that there might be major biological differences between men and women from the communal aspect or that even if there were no fundamental differences between the behavior of men and women, women were part of a culture with aspects which were worthy of protection.

I think they (radical feminists) have impressively demonstrates that sexuality is not a private matter to be explained in terms of individual preference or psychological processes fixed in infancy but rather that it is socially organized and critically structured by gender inequality. (Walby, 1989; p.121)

They claim that women should see themselves as a caste or as a class and expend all energy to eradicate patriarchy.

Radical feminism is a political theory which describes how the distribution of power is realized in society. According to this theory if any group on a certain level rules over another group, this supports the efforts of this group to rule the other group on other levels of society as well. The final aim is not only to end the pressure of man over woman but to put an end to all forms of oppression. They believed that women emancipation is real revolution not only for women but also for society itself. Patriarchy is seen as a source of women's secondary position. Radical feminist emphasizes differences between men and women.

As Josephine Donovan mention in her book of Feminist Theory, Roxanne Dunbar, (1970) claims that women's complaints are not small and personal contrary, they are widespread and deep rooted in society. She thinks that men superiority above women is very connected with the men exploitation over nature. According to her women are conditioned to be non-competitive, very eager to undertake others caring liability, flexible. These are such properties which are thought very suitable for mothers.

Between 1967 and 1968, radical feminist groups developed main body of the radical feminist thought in New York. In 1969 radical feminist published a number of articles which are containing the formularization of main radical feminist arguments. One of these arguments is that marriage is very common way to oppress women and denying the marriage as an institution is a duty for feminists both in practice and in theory.

Marriage is seen a heterosexist institution. In order to break this heterosexist chain, radical feminist especially Firestone and Atkinson suggest developing alternative way for reproduction. (Firestone, 1970; Atkinson, 1974)

In 1969, Firestone, Anne Koedt, Diane Crothers and Celestine Ware published a manifesto that was "the politics of ego". It said that reason of women's secondary position is not economic but it is psychological. Women develop dependent

personality whereas dominate a women constitute very important part of men's personality.

Another radical feminist writer Barbaa Burris contend that women are colonized cast all over the world and their culture oppress like any other colonized people. In order to emancipate they should exclaim women principle. Highlighting women principle, which is humiliated till now, is the only way to create real civilized society. (Burris, 1971)

Sexual politics (Millet, 1987) and the dialectic of sex: the case for feminist revolution is regarded as the best representation of radical feminist theory by Donovan (1997). In addition to them Amazon odyssey and Gyn ecology: the Meta ethics of radical feminism are also important instances of radical feminist theory.

Millett, like any other radical feminists claim that women are conditioned to kind of cast statue whereby severity or ideological domination. According to her family is the most important source of ideological propaganda. Family is considered as an institution which socializes children in tune with patriarchal value judgments. Family is very essential to regenerate patriarchal society.

Not only are feminists against marriage but also Radical feminists are very critical about love. They evaluate love as a mechanism that prevents women developing full human capacity by making them hypersensitive, dependent and vulnerable.

According to Atkinson's point of view, each of us is surrounded by institutions which are based on pathologic dependence. And she is wondering that if everybody is free and has a chance to affirm themselves, what will happen to love.

Atkinson says that women try to unify with someone who is considered powerful in order to feel themselves sufficient and powerful. She defines it as a mechanism which is very useful to handle being oppressed position. This way of thinking is very similar to Freud's penis envy and desire to have a boy.

Love is also considered as a mechanism. With love, women try to gain human status. According to her this effort is very useless. Women try to blurred men and women's role with the help of love.

Millett is very suspicious about romantic love. She thinks love is used by men to glorified women who are dependent to men. Love makes more bearable this dependent relationship for women.

Marriage is very strong ideology. Like romantic love, marriage is seen as a statue that makes women complete human. There are so many humiliating words for unmarried women and being unmarried is represented worse than being dead. Marriage became kind of live saver. Thus abusing a child, if it is occurring in marriage, can seen normal.

Dignifying marriage can also seen as a reason of early marriage. Marriage is valued so much. It has such a power that any kind of abuse is evaluated as a private matter and is normalized in marriage. Women have no realistic chance to make a carrier in the market. Even if she takes risk of sexual harassment in working place, ill pay or double day, her ultimate goal will never change. According to patriarchal logic, anyhow she will marry with someone; there is no reason to delay it.

I think marriage can evaluated same as love. Marriage is glorified. It is represented kind of final point that every women should reach. It is such an institution that helps women to overcome all problems which actually come from low self esteem and secondary social status. Having a boy is also important for women. It is very functional to absorb some power from men.

Other radical feminist, for instance Charlotte Bunch, Lucia Valeska, Adrienne Rich think that heterosexualism is a basic problem. According to Charlotte Bunch, family bases on heterosexist assumption. Men are seen as a provider and women are supported by men who are working somewhere.

Lucia Valeska, developed Bunch's analysis. She claims that heterosexuality is not a private issue between men and women it is rather kind of duty.

Andrienne Rich (1980), in her book of "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" asserted that that compulsory heterosexuality is an institution which is assuring women's secondary position.

Firestone says that woman makes a certain contribution to the secondary position she is granted. According to this, the psychosocial development of a woman requires that her needs of an approved relationship are determined from within rather than externally and caused her to develop a dependent personality structure. At this point a link with Chodorow can be established. Chodorow claims that women have children because of their need to fulfill the need for a close relationship and because of the unequally distributed responsibilities of parenthood women remain in a secondary position. Although the need for a close relationship and the subject of externally determined personality structure in connection with motherhood later on it has been mentioned in this section because it strengthens the acceptance that the continuous need of approval and close relationships is meaningful only if it has been approved by a man.

This is so internalized that practically no one questions it. Social speculation appears to be the functioning of nature, it is presented as if were natural. It has been internalized to extensively that if a girl is not being educated then there is no point in delaying the inevitable to all which is getting married; on the contrary it is encouraged.

Historically the family is structure in which the male dominates over the female; “Historically and etymologically the family is a production unit. In Latin the word familia means the total of land, slaves, women and children under the domination (at that time the meaning of the terminology was equivalent to property ownership) of the head of the family. In this production unit the head of the family is the family father: the production of those under his authority belongs to him...” (Savran and Tura, 1992; p.76)

6.2. Male Domination, Child Abuse and Violence

The relationship between patriarchy and male dominated sexuality are the center of analysis carried out by radical feminists. Since sexual abuse of children is an issue in early marriage sexuality is a major component of this study.

“Sexuality is the terrain or medium through which men dominate women.” (Walby, 1989; p.119)

Male sexuality is forced on women through rape prostitution, pornography and other cultural practices. Women's labor is expropriated in marriage, their fertility is controlled, their creativeness is cramped with persecution and knowledge is withheld from them. (Walby, 1989; p.121)

Because of Susan Firestone's ideas form main line of radical feminist theory, they are worth to mention. She propounds that women are suppressed not because of economic reasons but their biological structure. Female culture is confined in private sphere and suppressed. Apart from that, woman psychosexual development has also contributed to their suppressed position. According to her, men learn dividing sexuality from compassion, love in nuclear family. It is beginning of dividing women into two groups, first one is contain 'good', asexual, sensitive women and the other one is sexy, 'bad' women. Men learn detach sexual needs from psychological needs. This situation paralyses their emotional ability. Needs of affection are satisfied with job success etc. However women, who developed dependent personality, always need close relationship and approval which come from men. Considering women sexuality dangerous and dividing women into two groups may be connected with the gravity of virginity. Virgin is regarded harmless because she not sexually active. However she has a potential. In order to control her sexuality effectively, she should married off when she is virgin. At this point I think this is connected with early marriage. Women who are married off early don't realize her sexuality thus controlling her will be much easier.

While Kate Millet explains why she uses the term of sexual politics, she says sexual intercourse is not in the disconnected area on the contrary it reflects all notion and norm which constitute culture. She asserted that sexuality carry political quality.

Kate Millet mentions Hannah Arendt's theory that is about "violence". According to Arendt government can stand either volunteer support or coercion. Kate millet says that socializing both sexes according to patriarchal norm is the way of gain support to sexual politics.

Basic institution of patriarchal society is family. Family has a function of mediator between state and society. Individuals are dominated with the aid of family. Especially women are controlled by head of the family. They have little or none

official relationship with the government. Family, society and state relationship are supported by religious. She also mentions that head of the family could treat to other family members as they are his property in traditional patriarchal system.

Kate Millett points out that in patriarchal society, family has two functions. One of them is reproduction and the other is socializing children according to patriarchal norms.

Kate Millett mentions early marriage as an example of patriarchy's cruel and barbaric instances in her book of sexual politics. Her book contains ... parts. In each part she try to analyze patriarchy with different aspects.

Patriarchy is not always applied through force; it is possible to say that sometimes it is made acceptable based on free will and the victims voluntarily create a mechanism which takes them under its control.

The analysis of Millett's women is significant about a minority groups which does not need implemented force for the acceptance of patriarchy. Because women are a minority group it is possible to be a victim of oppression and be a one-to-one implementer without the application of brute force. Kate millet says women have the qualities of minority groups. It is possible to summarize the situation like this: they do not like each other, in order to put themselves in a favorable position with their masters they use the pressure mechanisms which are applied to them on all the others and endeavor to reach a high place for themselves in the hierarchy, they believe that the justifications used to oppress them are true – like for instance that women are really stupid, worthless.

In psychological part, she asserted that women show some properties with the minor group in society.

According to definition of minor group, women can seen as a minor group. They show respect neither themselves nor other women. Women are oppressed most commonly and it shows very repetitive characteristic. That cause internalizing secondary position by women. After a while women start to believe what ideological

account says about women. Women's secondary position is accepted by women as a reality.

I think internalizing became kind of standing mechanism. As I encounter an example in Ankara interviews, the woman who married off at an early age, would like to get married her own daughter at early age. The reason of this attitude might be internalization of secondary position. At a certain point she could be started to think early marriage is the best choice for women or she try to conceal her bad experience and her aggrieved position.

Millet continues to give example of similarity between women and minor group. One of her striking example is groups has both use same method to explain their weaknesses by saying that they are uninformed and ignorant.

I had a chance to examine the survey which was done by a non governmental organization. It was about early marriage. Almost all participants gave the same answer to the question of why you get married at an early age. The answer was "ignorant"

Kate Millet points out that comparing with each other is another strategy of patriarchal system. They are alienated from each other and they are become competitor by patriarchal system.

Marriage is very determining about the hierarchy between women. Gap between being married and unmarried is very wide. That's why marriage is seen as final point for women.

Controlling women sexuality is another reason of early marriage. Although marriage's main function control of women sexuality, women, who are married off early age, are dominated much more severely. Family which force their children to marry at an early age want to toss away the responsibility of protecting child's 'honor'. While passing out the responsibility, they want to sure child's virginity. It means that virginity is important concept for this study. In order to prevent extramarital sex, early marriage is approving.

Another important concept is 'men solidarity'. Father transfers his girl as a property to another man. It is a kind of legal system which is occurring among men.

It is believed that with menstruation the woman's psychological social development has been achieved and menstruation is sufficient reason to get married brings to mind the definitive determinations of Firestone regarding the functions of political classes. Since a woman is considered ready for marriage once she starts to menstruate and when she starts bearing children soon after getting married shows that the function has been defined. It is found unnecessary for the woman to experience the cultural fantasy we call childhood. Preparation for adulthood during the interim period called childhood is unnecessary. While men need to be prepared in phases for freedom, as soon as girls have reached fertility they are transposed suddenly into the world of adulthood.

Early marriage can be seen as being forced into adulthood before growing up.

Kate Millet in her book of sexual politics exerts that patriarchy seems not based on brute force because of its long term existence. Although many people think that patriarchy doesn't need brute force at all, patriarchy still needs it in order to maintain itself. She gives several examples of this brute force. For instance; adultery is punished very severely in Islam. In addition to that a samurai can kill his wife if she is accused with adultery in Japan, foot biding in chine, burying a woman with her dead husband in India.

Patriarchal brute force has reached its peak point with rape. Rape is evaluated as a crime not committed against a woman but it is committed against a man who is responsible for that woman.

In the matter of early marriage, a woman who married off at an early age is abused sexually. As a matter of fact that she is raped. However nobody calls out that there is a crime. Because father and prospective husband make a deal and they change their property right about the girl, there is no need to think about any abusive situation or violation. Kate Millett calls it as "men solidarity".

Firestone thinks that we can learn so many things about inequality between men and women from Marx and Engels not because what they have said but from their way of thinking. She finds Marx and Engels writings which are about women subordination is very deficient. Marx and Engels wrote about women issue occasionally however every time their approach based on economic understanding. They evaluated women's subordination as an economic issue. That's why firestone finds it inadequate and she asserts that why women are subordinated can not be explained only by economic reason. The underlying reasons are psychological and sexual realities.

Nevertheless, she thinks historical materialism can be used as a method to solve the problem of women's subordination. Marx and Engels perceive history not as a stable thing but they perceive it as a course. Because they understood how historical change is possible, they can developed offering in order to change historical course.

Firestone wants to reach a comprehension like what Marx and Engels did. She wants to do something more than offering the utopia which was done by first feminist intellectual.

She wants to develop historical materialism which based on sexuality. According to that class division begin with between men and women. Biological division is the first form of class division. According to her point of view biological differences between men and women don't cause inequality by itself but reproduction cause women's secondary position. Therefore she suggests that women should take control of their body and their reproductive function. In addition to that they should get under control of institutions which are use socializing children. When women become free from their reproductive responsibility, nuclear families' oppressive character will be over.

Firestone tries to synthesize historical materialism and Freud's analyzes.

What firestone says about childhood is also very striking. She point out women and children usually mention together. They share same oppressed position.

Being both women and child is deepening the oppressed position. When we consider that early marriage is also called child marriage, childhood is important concept for this study. In early marriage child is forced to be in complicated relationship which is emerged by marriage.

She narrates some information about childhood from the book of philippe aries which is called as “centuries of childhood: a social history of family life”. According to it family as term was used by Romans for the first time to depict the group of people which is constituted by mother children and slaves. According to Romans law, head of the family has a power over the other family member’s life. In medieval, there wasn’t any concept about childhood. Children were seen as a miniature of adult. Economic dependency was the sole distinction between adult and child.

Children were the ordinary member of the household and they haven’t any particular importance. Most of the time, children are nursed by someone else and they are sent to work at a craftsman’s workplace. There weren’t any special places or games and toys for children. Childhood has appeared as a concept after the 14. century. After that children have become supplementary element of contemporary family. Children have started to monitor in child-center new bourgeois family. Emphasize on purities of children has increased.

Firestone looks at how child clothes were change at 17. and 18. centuries. She makes inferences by looking at these changes.

Male child was getting dressed like a girl until five years old. After that he was forced to be getting dress men’s clothes. When he was adolescent, he started to dress like a soldier. Firestone asserted to that stages which are occurring in dressing attitude are corresponding to stages in Oedipus complex. Male child starts to his life in the subclass which is consisting women. Male child identified himself with his mother just like what girl child does. After five years old, male child is forced to split up from his mother. Imitating father clothes is evaluated as a transition time of Oedipus complex. Eventually when he spilt from his mother and identified himself with his father, he rewarded with adult clothes.

Firestone emphasizes that girl child's clothes haven't got this kind of transition. Girl child was getting dressed like adult women directly. What was the expected from girl child is acting as a woman when she was nine years old. When she was reached to her adolescent period, she was married off with a man who is older than the girl.

Firestone says that a girl doesn't pass some stages like male child because she doesn't seem as person who needs adjusting to be independent. Firestone explains the situation of not sending girl child at school with the same argument. School such a place that constitutes childhood as a concept. Thus it was seen unnecessary for girls.

Before growing up and getting used to be independent, girls are forced to be adult or at least pretending like an adult. So they are convicted to be constant childhood by never letting be a real child.

Firestone finds very profound similarities between the myth of childhood and womanhood. For instance both of them are seen innocent and not keen on sexual activity. In this manner they are seen much more harmless than men. The fact that women are seen as more passive sexually and share this trait with children can be linked to the fantasy of the western woman's sexuality as defined by Mernissi.

Mernissi started off from Fried in the west and Gazali in the east and compares the sexuality of women. Accordingly there is a frigid sexuality for women in the west. Woman is perceived as passive sexually. On the other hand from the creations of Gazali, Mernissi determines that the sexuality of women in the Islamic religion is fantasized as active.(Mernissi:2003). Accordingly, a woman's active sexuality is perceived as threatening by society and the religion of Islam is evaluated as a defense against the offence of the destructive power of woman's sexuality. According to him, covering women in societies where women are segregated and kept under control is a sign of the woman's active sexuality. In societies where there are no methods to control the behavior of women they are perceived to be sexually passive.

Gazali sees civilization as a struggle to control the destructive all restraining power of women. (Mernissi:2003) When not controlled the fantasy of sexually active

women turns into a source of incitement and potentially the most dangerous woman has been encoded as one with sexual experience. In Gazali's interpretation of Islam man has been given the duty of satisfying a woman. The reason for this is that it believed that a woman who is dissatisfied will be destructive.

In the privacy of early marriage the sexual inexperience of the girl child and her being a child takes her out of the threat category of unsatisfactory sex.

Mernissi refers to the writings of Freud regarding the psychology of love and speaks of the motivation of patriarchal unconsciousness. Accordingly the virginity taboo is buried in the most primitive corners of the human mind and is perceived as a manifestation of the fear men have of women. Primarily this fear is caused by the fertility of women and secondly because men are suspicious that under the guise of obedience women are plotting revenge. Patriarchy makes a sharp separation between love and sexuality. Accordingly, men consider the women they respect to be frigid. They choose women who they consider to be at a lower level for sexual satisfaction.

Islam is shown as a reference in legitimating early marriage. Actually it is possible to say that it endeavors to control female sexuality collectively by applications such as early marriage, virginity related honor killings, mutilation of the female sex organ.

When children are married off and the person being married is a child far from sexuality and thus does not pose a threat to the man's ego which provides an ideal situation for the man to establish and practice full domination.

Virginity is one of the mechanisms with which female sexuality can be controlled. The theme used in the operation of this mechanism is religion. Although Ayesha M .Imam calls attention to the differences of islamic interpretation and application styles she also speaks of the common views of religious right-wing moslems regarding sexuality. (Imam: 2003) Ayesha M. Imam points out that the views of rightwing Islam movements regarding gender relations and sexuality are similar. According to Imam the common points regarding the concerns about women hold a central place and increase the incidence of viewing women as a source of sexual depravity, asceticism towards the human body and in the increase of reciprocating

the heterosexual desires of men and consists of the restructuring of patriarchal control over women and their sexuality.

Imam underlines that instead of canalizing towards the pillars of Islam which are valid for all Moslem communities, focus is put on women's clothes who are considered to be the bearers of culture. Women's clothes and behavior function as if they were the symbols of Islamic order. Imam, referred to the determination of Yuva Davis that women are seen as the bearers of culture rather than participants and establishers and said that in order to ensure that the next generation is raised in the desired way it is necessary to mention that the value of the role of women and fertility must be included in the transposing of social values. The limitation of the dress code emerges as a necessity required by asceticism.

Imam concludes that the limitation of dress codes and women are the ones who must obey it means that the discourse regarding female sexuality is strong in a natural and unconscious way and at the same deserves to be blamed. What is valid for dress code and sexuality is also valid when the subject is fertility of women. All applications regarding birth control have been removed from the control of women and submitted to the hands of the state and men. Matters such as decisions regarding whether or not have sex or when and access to birth control methods is assessed within this scope.

Woman and child have both special duties such as homework and house chores. Both of them are seen mentally inadequate. They are forced to learn indirect way to gain what they want because they haven't any power like men have.

Similarities between them are obscured by quasi respect. Not discussing serious problem in front of them is accepted as an indicator of that respect. Fake respect is very functional to concealing oppressed position of them. It is very difficult to fight against concealed oppression than open one.

Fear from women sexuality might be one of the reason early marriages. Because menstruation is enough to see a woman as a candidate, usually psychological development of girl is ignored. Fear from women sexuality and desire to control it could be the basic motivation for early marriage problem.

Kate Millett mentions myth of Pandora and story of expelling from heaven. According to her both of them is reflecting idea of connecting with women, sexuality and sin.

Pandora means that 'gift from god'. According to Greek mythology Pandora was the first woman. She is created to punish all humanity. In the myth of Pandora, Zeus created a most beautiful woman in the earth for Epimetheus. Brother of Epimetheus is Prometheus who is stolen light from Zeus. Prometheus warned him not to marry with Pandora but they got married. Zeus gave to Pandora a jug. But this jug never will be open. She couldn't keep her promise and opened it. After that all wickedness spread to world.

Millett estimates story of expelling from heaven as a developed version of Pandora. Expelling from heaven is seen the beginning of pain. Because of causing it, women deserve to be punished in the world. This way of thinking is the reason of current sexual attitude towards women. Heaven disappeared because women appeared.

6.3. Child Mothers: From Unawareness to Guilty Conscience

The philosophy of Chodorow who links the main reasons for the asymmetric structure of division of labor based on communal gender organization and gender to the parenthood system which has been organized in an asymmetric form structures the "female role" to socio-cultural motherhood in addition to biological motherhood as the fundamental source of asymmetric role organization and social inequality.

According to Chodorow, heterosexual marriage and motherhood are the central points of communal gender organization and have a defining characteristic.

The ideology of motherhood is also one of the reasons why early marriage is accepted as normal. Some analysis carried out by Nancy Chodorow may be able to open horizons in this matter.

Nancy Chodorow is an object relations theoretician who re-approaches S. Freud's arguments on sexual development with a feminist point of view. She has theoretical explanations women's maternity role.

Nancy Chodorow examines the question regarding the desire of a woman to become a mother. It is possible to summarize the basic argument regarding this subject as follows.

Women who need constant personal relationships and ensure the re-establishment of motherhood are unable to fulfill their needs from other individuals particularly from men who have defined themselves in the public area.

Chodorow pointed out in her work "The Reproduction of Mothering" (1978) that women rarely examine the subject of motherhood and emphasizes how the gender identity is developed with the multiple approaches of psychoanalysis, sociology and feminist theory, why and how motherhood is reproduced. In the mentioned work Chodorow uses some basic aspects used in Freud's theory and reviews them with feminist-critical outlook and develops her own theoretical perspective. In line with Freud's theoretical views "the communal relationship experience of a child in babyhood are defining in psychological growth and in the development of personality" (Donovan, 1997; p.208) Chodorow who is from the school that defends 'material relations' differs from his views in that she states that a child's first communal world and that mother-child interplay play a role in the focal point of this world. As can be understood from the views of Chodorow given above being a woman is a 'natural' product, it is giving and easy to get. Manhood on the other hand is a 'cultural' product and it must be won. That is why a man is expected to survive a labor process, show success and prove himself to his close environment. In short, women in social life are seen as those who 'are' whereas men get approved as individuals who 'do': Women 'are', men 'do'. This process means that women and men live through different associational experiences. The differentiation of the mentioned experiences and the impact and contribution of the identification process in the formation of the sexual identity is an undeniable truth. Chodorow draws attention to this matter and alleges that the identification process is not experienced differently only by children but also differently by women who are mothers at the same time and she calls this process the binary identification. When we say associated experience what is meant is a psychoanalytical analysis. Binary identification can be seen as the result of the woman's effort to meet her associated

needs since the pre-oedipal period and object-dependent attitude. Compared to a boy, a girl child experiences the identification during the pre-oedipal period for a longer period and during this process the formation of an associated ego is realized. That is why the identification process which is more “chronically internalized and immortalized” for women finally displays a binary structure within itself. In the first phase of identification the woman continues to exist as a girl child, in the second phase she is a woman with a child and at the same time a mother herself. “With love and through empathy women have the power to realize the first identification with their children. In addition to maternal identification women have the ego capacity to ensure the care of their children and a sense of responsibility. In addition to this they invest in motherhood in order to fill the gaps that were left by their own mothers (or to get revenge). What is more is that through their development women build identification phases with their mothers mainly on mother-child relationships” (Chodorow, 1978; p.204). Chodorow enters a phase of glorifying manhood here and because of the patriarchal partnership she is in and the different psychosocial processes and because women need primary relations and inter-family approval they need to be mothers. The interaction of a father with his daughter contains a negative definition and while it carries its existence through differential codes, it gains form by a similarity to a positive definition in the tendency of the male child and through modeling. This is why the during the gender discovery phase between father and daughter on the platform of produced gender differences and hierarchies the relationship is not chronic. This discontinuity and the breakups in communication give the image of man an ideal, strong and untouchable content of interpretation through the father figure of the girl/woman which is practically unreachable. Because of this idealization “girls do not get the interest and tenderness in the amount they want from their father and other men, but only in the amount that they are able. Because there are no primary male figures it is difficult for a girl child to develop a secure feeling of self in connection with men” (Chodorow, 1994; p.87). The woman feels something lacking, insecurities in the relationship she has with a man. Like Chodorow (1994; p.82) says, “Women dream of aiming to restructure, reform and re-image the emotional relationship they had with their mothers. A woman is full of her mother in the form of an internal image and object and these

form the emotional relationships of the woman.” On the other hand through cultural references the emotional relationships of men with their mothers who have positioned their own sexuality through differentiation, the existence of sexuality is observed. According to Chodorow (1994, p.84) this love the man feels for his own mother is defined as negative. Masculine superiority in heterosexuality and asymmetry characterize a defensive structure. The fear a woman has for a man’s sexuality or fear of a man’s power is appropriate with oppressed cultural and social gender structures. The dimensions of the complex developments of industrial capitalism have a major share in sharpening the boundaries of the mentioned areas. These boundaries mean that at the same time feminine and masculine characteristics and roles undertaken by the primary and secondary roles and relevant values and attitudes are defined. As a result of the inducement of male dominant values public area-private area segregation, work division based on gender and the formation of different gender identities, reflections of the psycho-social impacts of the practice of motherhood emerge. In modern societies power and oppression mechanisms still continue to reproduce asymmetric gender relations especially in the private area through fundamental cultural tools and community organizations and as a result their impact continues in the public area. With the determination of Chodorow (1978, p.5) the children of the capitalistic development process, grandparents and persons outside the family are distanced from the home and the participation of men in the family life has decreased. The home has become an area for the parents and children; baby and child care, isolated from relatives, less social interaction has become the area of biological mothers who get very little regular support in parenting. Having a job with a salary does not change the situation. Even if the paycheck of the woman is high, she continues to execute her motherly activities; raising the children is still one of the main family responsibilities. In the light of Chodorow’s theoretical views it is possible to say that as long as transition into symmetrical characteristics of parenthood is not achieved, that is as long as men do not undertake the communal and cultural roles executed by women with the exception of biological motherhood, the sex-oriented socio-cultural structure and gender hierarchy will continue to exist.

Atkinson asserts that in her book of “Amazon Odyssey”, women are the first exploited class. Suppressing women is the beginning of class society. She tries to go beyond Firestone’s biological analyses and she emphasizes on that question how biological classifying became political classifying.

She also says that women are defined regarding to their function in androcentric society. The function is reproduction. She thinks women can be assumed as a politic class because politic classes are defined with regard to their function. Identifying someone as a class member prevents him/her from developed independent personality. In this sense women cannot acquire independent personality. She points out that women should find alternative way to construct to their identity. Instead of defining themselves from outside, Atkinson asserts that women should find who they are from the inside. In order to achieve this goal she draws our attention to necessity of cultural change. According to Atkinson not only women but also men are need new identity concepts. Men develop an identity based on suppression of women. Dominate a woman is the sole condition to feel completed for men. By oppressing women, men try to forget their mortality and relieve their anxiety. Moreover it became a tool for affirming themselves. This stand point brings about emotional burnout for women.

Women who are married off at an early age have no chance to identify themselves from inside. Because they are defined according to their various functions such as house keeper, being fertile, soon after they married off, they start to give birth. House chores and raising children take their chance to understand who they are.

6.4. Children Working for Peanuts, Children’s Labour in Early Marriages

It is obvious that in general woman’s domestic labour in marriage is made invisible and that even the fact that this labour dependent on man’s supervision and requiring almost 24-hour performance, is not enough to make them “working woman”. It is not possible to say that this is the case only for early-married women. A woman’s labour will be exploited whether she is married before or after 18. The crucial matter for this study is –as details will be given in the part that covers data analysis- that women, who married during childhood, are subject to more severe damage because

of this exploitation. Adding a child into a family as a bride, involves exploitation of not only her sexuality and fertility but also her labour force. Assuming that a child will be more submissive and compliant worker than an adult woman; and will be more energetic and will tolerate exhaustion resulting from intensive domestic labour for longer time, it seems economically reasonable to start a woman to work while she is a child. In this sense, it can be affirmed that child marriage has an economic dimension.

The aim of this part is to provide a comparative discussion of Delphy, Molyneux and Hartman, Marx and Engels' analysis about women's domestic labour.

Christine Delphy defines women as a class that produces an exchange value with their domestic labour yet whose labour is captured by men. Molyneux, opposes Delphy, arguing that Marxist relations of production can not be adapted to male-female relations and that domestic labour of women can not have an exchange value in contradiction to capitalist relations of production. And as defining patriarchy, Heidi Hartmann considers not only domestic sphere but also public sphere, the state, the army, sports clubs and trade unions where male solidarity is reinforced. Despite stating that interests of patriarchy and capitalism coincides most of the time, she mentions that patriarchy constitutes a separate body from dominant modes of production like feudalism, capitalism and socialism; and roots in ages when the strict division of labour between men and women came into existence. The thesis of Christine Delphy is significant in terms of its effort to make female labour visible and to create a materialist basis.

According to Molyneux, women's domestic labour and reproduction does not produce surplus value. However, it is an obvious fact that, men benefit from unpaid services of women working for peanuts. Mostly, capitalism also has a benefit from these services. Female labour, exploited in labour market through low wages, is again exploited in domestic level for free.

Christine Delphy, states that principal source of women's exploitation in this way is the institution of family. At this point, one should consider conditions how family as an institution first emerged. Certainly, it is hard to argue that this structure preserved

a fixed structure all through history. As Hartmann has also presented, it is possible that man and woman came together for economical reasons after the strict division of labour based on gender started to take shape; this had also brought along a heterosexist structure. This assumption does not absolutely result in the idea that hierarchical structure between men and women is natural and that biological characteristics of men and women inevitably bring along this structure. It can be argued that values attributed to works of men and women resulted in rising of the mentioned hierarchy. In other words, it was possible that today all sorts of female work could have had more value than male work. The structure of family constitutes an institution that makes this hierarchy even more severe. It is an undeniable fact that institution of family, as stated by Delphy, is the main reason and means of inequality between men and women. (Delphy; 1999)

Hartmann had defined patriarchy in such a way that considers all fields and institutions that reinforce male dominance.

The “invisible” domestic labour of women is a topic that needs to be principally taken into consideration for materialistic explanation of patriarchy, the order that makes women dependent on men. There are various approaches about the female labour taken under control. For instance, Christine Delphy, builds on family mode of production to explain women’s dependence on men. The type of exploitation that involves men’s capture of female domestic labour, is notable in any mode of production that involves family mode of production. Family as a unit of production dates back to old times. And although it has been altered with the modern state and capitalist relations of production, it basically preserved the exploitation relationship between men and women.

Delphy, taking domestic mode of production as the basis, defines women as a particular class that has economic and social fundamentals. She states that domestic production of women has an exchange value and it is not production of women but rather women themselves, which is being excluded from the exchange market. The following can be given as an example of the fact that women’s production has an exchange value: Some of domestic activities of the past, such as making bread or

tomato paste, are now industrialized. In other words, now bakers and canning factories are selling the labour which was once given by women for free.

Delphy sets forth that there are two basic modes of production in contemporary society: 1. Industrial production where most of commodities are produced, 2. Family-type production that involves domestic services, child care and production of some commodities. "The first type results in capitalist exploitation while the second paves the way for family exploitation, or more precisely patriarchal exploitation" (Savran and Tura, 1990; p.84)

Although we attribute the source of division of labour based on gender to family, it turns out that this hierarchical division labour appears in out of family as well. Christine Delphy explains this as following: Patriarchal exploitation based on marriage creates fundamental oppression of women. Their exploitation out of family arises based on this fact: "... even when women work 'outside', their resulting class belonging is conditioned by their exploitation as women."

On the other hand, Maxine Molyneux considers theoretical structure of Delphy as inadequate.

According to Delphy, the relationship of exploitation that involves men's capture of women's labour, comes out of marriage. However, Molyneux brings forward the status of women out of marriage relations and states that all marriage contracts and practices within marriage are not identical. Nonetheless, it is possible to argue that in spite of minor differences in family relations in pre-capitalist societies and the societies where capitalist relations of production prevail, family relations principally have a structure of male dominance. Because it is men, who mainly own property. Division of labour based on gender emanates from this fact. Family became the structure where this division of labour is strengthened.

Molyneux states that division of labour based on gender existed even before capitalism and is almost a universal phenomenon. Then, one can argue that domestic type of production, resulting in division of labour based on gender, preserved a basic and fixed economic relationship even if it was affected by economic developments of communities; and thus it can not be used for periodization. Since domestic type of

production is not a type of production that can be assumed to be dominant in organization of societies, it can not either be “the founding economic and social relations theory of social formation”. Eventhough it creates different economic relations than primary modes of production, it is obvious that domestic production results in a structure that makes women dependent on men. Molyneux concludes his/her argument as following: “... there had never been and will never be a social formation completely or partially dominated by domestic production”. Still, according to Molyneux, this does not mean to ignore social significance of domestic labour. That is to say, in order to acknowledge social significance of domestic labour, one does not have to admit that it is a type of production in the sense Marx refers. Molyneux regards importance of form of domestic area organization for reproduction of social formations as well as social relations in this area.

The efforts to explain oppression of women by materialist analysis of female labour lies at the bottom of all these discussions about mode of production and value.

Heidi Hartmann, in her article “The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism”, states the following argument about production of patriarchal social relations: “

"In our society, children are mostly raised at home and by women, who are socially identified and regarded as inferior to men; while men are rarely present in this domestic picture. Children raised in this way, generally learn their place in the hierarchy based on gender very well. However, the central areas of this process are outdoor areas where patriarchal behaviours are taught, women are put into an inferior position and this position is reinforced. In other words, according to Hartmann, materialist basis of patriarchy rest on not only the family, but also social structures that allow "men's control over female labour". (Savran and Tura, 1990; p. 143).

Hartmann, remarks a similar approach to Simone de Beauvoir's "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" statement: "We are born as females and males, namely born with biological sexes, but we are created as women and men with socially accepted genders. The issue of how we are created in such a way constitutes the

second dimension of the mode of production Engels mentions: 'Production of human beings themselves, propagation of species'.

Hartmann attributes men's and women's togetherness for economic reasons under marriage to strict division of labour based on gender. "Strict division of labour based on gender, a social discovery shared by all known societies, creates necessity of togetherness of two completely separate genders, men and women, for economic reasons. "Thus it helps them to meet sexual needs in a heterosexual way and to guarantee biological reproduction." (Savran and Tura, 1990; p.143–144). At this point, we need to ask the following question: how come division of labour based on gender makes women dependent on men and what is the reason for undervaluation of female work? As an answer, one can say that value judgement is determined by economic production, labour with exchange value is regarded as superior to women's invisible domestic labour and women play the role of proletariat within household as Engels states. According to Engels, "The modern individual family is based on the open or disguised domestic enslavement of women; and in this age men play the role of a bourgeois as women play proletariat within the family." (Engels, 1995; p.70). Eventhough one accepts that patriarchy is structured independent from major modes of production such as feudalism, capitalism and socialism; still it is possible to say that it is fed by value judgements emerging from these modes of production. For instance, while entrepreneurship, competitiveness, successes are features that can mostly be associated with capitalist mode of production, they echo with male characteristics, rather than female ones. These features echo with values regarded as superior in the capitalist system we live in. Features like moderateness, self devotion, mercy, compassion (mother's compassion) that can be placed in the opposite polar, echo with female characteristics.

Hartmann, focuses on reproduction as one of the most important sources of patriarchy: "Economic production (what Marxists exactly mean when they mention mode of production) and production of humans in sex/gender field, both determine social organization of people living in a particular historical period and in a certain country, according to Engels. If that is the case, the entire society can be understood

by considering these two sorts of production and reproduction, humans and things" (Savran and Tura, 1990; p.144).

Hartmann comes up with the following idea, when she compares Marxist categories and categories of gender: "Capitalist development creates room for a worker's hierarchy, but traditional Marxist category does not provide us with the information of who will fill in which places. Hierarchies based on gender and race determines who will fill in the gaps. Patriarchy is not only a hierarchical organization, but also a hierarchy where certain people fill in certain places" (Savran and Tura, 1990; p.145).

Hartmann, does not base patriarchy on a single institution like family, but rather puts forth a more general definition:

"...we define patriarchy as a series of social relations that have a material basis and involve man-to-man solidarity and hierarchical relations among men which enable male dominance over women. Material basis of patriarchy is the control of men over women's labour force. This control is achieved through restraining women's access to economically required productive resources and restricting female sexuality". (Hartmann, 1981)

Following this, Hartmann lists the most important elements of patriarchy:

"Heterosexual marriage (and homophobia, as a result), making child raising and housework a female work, economic dependance of women on men (strengthened by regulations in labour market), state, a number of institutions based on social relations among men, clubs, sports facilities, unions, professions, universities, churches, companies and armies." Putting forth the relations among mentioned patriarchal elements are significant for explication of the fundamental basis of patriarchy.

Hartmann touches on the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism.

"... it can easily be seen that partnership between patriarchy and capital; most of the time men and capitalists have conflicting interests particularly on utilization of female labour."

For instance, family wages that came up to agenda in 19th century can be regarded as a solution to conflicts about female labour force between patriarchal and capitalist interests.

As Hartmann has stated, “Men demanded family wages in order to retain services of their wives at home in spite of struggling for equal payment for men and women” (Savran ve Tura, 1990; p.149).

Another example of the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy can be stated as following: “As Firestone, Frankfurt School and many others have explained, hegemony is learned in the family,

Another point Kate Millett emphasizes that labor class men use women as unpaid laborer, in this way contradictory between classes became vogue.

We can interpret to this argument to the reason of early marriage I think that one of the reason of early marriage is gain unpaid laborer. Gaining unpaid laborer is not only possible at early marriage. However a woman who married off at an early age will be more submissive and docile worker for household. Hence a woman under the age of 18 is much preferable for marriage.

There had been some arguments opposing the approach that asserts there is a partnership between patriarchy and capitalism; and they feed each other. “Although there is a partnership between capital and patriarchy today, patriarchy can be unacceptable for capitalism in the long run; capitalism might eventually sweep away all family relations and patriarchy. This argument is consequentially maintained as the following: capitalist social relations (and family is not an example of this) tend to become universal; women will have more and more skills to earn money and they will refuse to accept their dependent position within the family; since family is oppressive particularly for women and children, when people will be able to earn their living outside, family will fall down” (Savran and Tura, 1990; p.154).

In addition Hartmann also asserts that future of patriarchy is not linked to future of family relations; that is to say that patriarchy might not fall down when family collapses.

Since family type of production was seen in societies where other modes of production prevail, it is not a structure depending on capitalist relations of production. Will patriarchy collapse when capitalist relations become more universal and women's domestic labour starts to be sold in labour force market as a result of ultra-capitalist solutions? Eventhough economic dependance of women is rooted in family, we can argue that this hierarchical relationship between men and women spreaded to other fields and institutions. In every field where women's dependance to men becomes visible and where this relationship of dependancy reveals, women should come together and refuse this for themselves. Hartmann, states that what should be done in such a society where patriarchy and capitalism interlaced so much is to isolate mechanisms of patriarchy. She outlined what should be done at the beginning as the following: "to see who benefits from labour force of women, to reveal material basis of patriarchy, to search for hierarchy and solidarity mechanisms among men. (Hartmann, 1981)

According to Marx, women are defined together with nature, not with society. Eventhough women take part in production of goods, Marx deals with them particularly as women, protector of the house and members of a weak gender. According to him, capitalism resulted in degeneration of family by involving women within labour force. Men work and become workers while working women still remains to be wives and mothers. It is a problem of exploitation when a man is exploited, however it is a problem of ethics when a woman is exploited. According to Marx, when women work, it decreases male workers' power of resistance to capitalist hegemony. Engels believes that the division between man and woman was not hierarchical before the rise of private property and class society. Oppression of women is about class society's style of organizing childbirth capacity. Their secondary position occurs structurally within the family. There was a differentiation based on gender in the clans and women had some roles concerning the house. But still they had equal social power with men, or maybe even more. Everyone could have a relationship with each other. (Engels, 2005)

As Tong states, with natural selection, people who had blood-relation were step by step excluded from being appropriate spouses. Hence men started to claim individual

woman for themselves as if women are their private property. And thus the perception of marriage of a man and woman emerged. (Tong, 1989)

Engels interpreted this not as oppression, but rather the economic power, of women. Engels described these ancient societies as matrilineal and matriarchal because the work of women was crucial for sustainability of the clan and they produced most of the goods, and most of them were passed to next generations. In other words, women had social and political power as well as economic power. This results from the domestic status of women. Since household was the primitive center of production, when this changed, women would lose their power, and that had been the case. Domestication of animals constituted a new source of wealth for humanity. And since men controlled clan animals, they took away the power from women. As needs of the clan were met, number of animals increased as much to create surplus value. The production of surplus value made inheritance crucial. The fact that production out of house became more than domestic production did not only devalue the work of women but also affected their status within the society. Societies started to have a patriarchal structure. So, with expression of Engels, men became the bourgeois and women became the proletariat. Since men's control over women occurs because of their control of property, oppression of women can only be achieved through abolishment of private property. According to Engels, this is the reason for monogamy as well. Since father of a woman's child can be any men, men pushed for monogamy on women in order to guarantee loyalty within marriage. Patriarchal society does not expect monogamy from men. In other words, the only purpose of monogamy is to serve passing private property to children. That is to say, monogamy is not a natural form of family but it was based on economic conditions. Only after abolishment of class society men and women will involve in marriages based on love. Rescue of women is possible primarily by their economic independence from men.

Engels divides his analysis of women in capitalism into two, bourgeois family and proletarian family. Proletarian women are subject to less oppression than bourgeois women since they have economic independence. The prerequisite for male dominance did not occur because proletarian men do not have an increasing wealth,

have very little private property and are subject to oppression of minority of men. Proletarian women experience oppression when they face with capital as workers outside their home. Women's relationship with the class is not less than men but it is shaped through men. If a woman is dealing only with housework, her class position is determined by her husband's status out of home. When she is a waged worker, her work is regarded as working class job.

Since Marxist theory does not deal too much with reproduction and sexuality, Marxist feminists are focused on problems of women at work. Even if this is not satisfactory, it helps us to understand how capitalism is linked to family, how housework is not considered as real work and how women work in the most boring jobs and earn the least money. Before industrial capitalism, house was the center of production. As a result of industrialization, production of goods was transferred to workplace and since women mostly stayed at home, their labour was started to be classified as nonproductive labour. Capitalism needs women to work at low paid jobs outside the house as well as their working for free at home. The prediction of Marx and Engels that women and children would also join workforce, turned out to be true. Thus the proletarian revolution will be possible but Mackinnon (1989, p.18) mentions that Marx stated that women's participation in workforce decreased men's resistance to hegemony of capitalism. In fact, because of their false consciousness, workers, rather than revolting against capitalism, eliminated first children then women from workforce in order to come close to bourgeois lifestyle.

CHAPTER 7

METHODOLOGY

7.1. Introduction

My research will not be a representative study. It will give an idea about the effect of early marriage and how the early marriage phenomenon is assessed by women who have this experience. It will be a limited profile about them but still has importance because aware of the consequence of early marriage is the first condition of defining this issue as a problem.

According to civil code child marriage is illegal. Although civil code doesn't allow to child marriage, religious wedding still let it be. Thus, it is very difficult to know how widespread child marriages are. Looking at the percentage of teenage pregnancy and motherhood can give an idea about the frequencies of early marriage; because early pregnancy usually follows early marriage. For this reason, Turkey Demography and Health Survey is very helpful to understand the scope of the issue. According to Turkey Demography and Health Survey which was done by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies in 2008, pay attention to issues about women and health. Report attracts our attention to adverse consequences of early pregnancy. Both children born to very young mothers and teenage mothers are affected negatively from that. Illness and death are negative outcomes for children. In terms of early motherhood, maternity related mortality is more frequent than older age mothers. (TDHS-2008; p.73)

As may have been observed in the explanations above, the site selection of the research has been made upon the data of TDHS. Depending on the given data, the city of Van of Middle East Anatolian region, in which the adolescent pregnancy had most been observed, was chosen for the field work .

This chapter discusses the study's methodological approach and research process. First, I will present the research questions. Second, I will explain the methodological approach adopted for this study. Third, I will focus on the research techniques used in this study, with a view towards clarifying the reason why I employed depth interview as a technique. Fourth, I describe the research process on the basis of questions pertaining to when, where, how and under what conditions the interviews were conducted. Finally, I will provide general information about the study's women participants, as well as a explanations of other information sources such as information comes from representative of NGO's and public officials.

7.2. The Methodological Approach

The methodological approach of this study is feminist. There are several reasons for opting for a feminist approach: first of all, I have noticed that, due to women's ontological position, classical approaches have certain critical limitations in explaining their social reality, most of which originates from the methodology used. Secondly, as a woman, I have experienced that the discursive formation of the life we live is not only distinct from our realities, but is also oppressive. The reality of social life practised by women is hidden within their own personal experiences. Thirdly, my subjective position as a researcher, as well as that of the narrators, reveal the importance of considering subjectivity within a sociological inquiry, which is critically discussed in feminist methodologies.

This study refers to three qualities of feminist research. These are political, epistemological and methodological qualities. First a feminist research directly focuses on women question. (Stanley, L. & Wise, S.,1990)

This quality is related to the sources and positions of knowledge and forms the epistemological basis of feminism. Second it separates male quantitative methods from female ones. Feminism tires to find the non hegemonic knowledge by referring to women's personal life experiences, which can only be gathered by qualitative methodological approaches. Third it has a political intention to create the needed knowledge which contributes to women's emantipation and liberations.

Having passed through moral and political phases, feminism has gradually developed scientific ways of struggling with male domination (Farganis, 1994; Smith, 1987). It now challenges those paradigms that systematically ignore women's significance within the gender-based organized social structure, as well as the social sciences. This challenge corresponds to feminism's political intentions. Feminist methodology challenges the methodological assumptions of traditional epistemologies within which women were systematically ignored.

Women are lost in a triangle of "holy *knowledge*", "*the authoritarian researcher*" (who is the prophet who guides us, or the missionaries), and "the people as *objects of study*" (who are assumed to be similar to each other, and who do not have the opportunity to obtain knowledge of themselves, which, in turn, is a but partial knowledge obtained from a sample, and generalised to all). Besides being the objects of the scientific research, we, as women, are being defined by experiences that are different than our lives. Against this hierarchical organization of traditional epistemological approaches, feminism re-organises and re-defines the subject-object dichotomy (Lazreg, 1995; Farganis, 1994). First, feminist epistemology suggests that "women" should be assumed to be not only ordinary elements of the social sphere, which affect and are affected as objects by society, but also to be, as subjects, the "social" itself. Second, the researcher's subject position, or her/his own situated understanding, is one of the basics of knowledge for feminist methodology (Christiansan-Rufmann, 1998). As Farganis mentions, for feminist epistemology, "there is no way of seeing the world except through some specific embodied person who brings her or his biography to the occasion" (1994; p.23-24). When the researcher rejects the holiness of science and gives up the habit of adoring it, she/he puts off the role of scientific missionaries position of missionaries and acknowledges her/himself to be a concrete person with possessions, interests and intentions. Her/his gender, ethnicity, class and culture become influential, and her/his personal experiences and history became prominent as well. Within this research, I continually tried to remain aware of my positioning as a researcher. I believe that to challenge the false representation of women, and to understand the experiences of women, which are different from and unequal to those of men (Harding, 1995; Farganis, 1994; Smith 1987), a specific viewpoint is necessary.

The feminist standpoint that, very broadly, refers to “seeing the world through women’s eyes” and “creating useful social knowledge for advancement of women” (Christiansen-Ruffmann, 1998) offers the possibility of using this viewpoint to advantage.

The feminist standpoint’s intention is to incorporate the “other” part of human beings into theory in the name of non-hegemonic and non-patriarchal forms of scientific knowledge. The feminist standpoint refuses to create scientific limitations, categorizations, essentialisms and universalisms. Rather, it claims multi-centrality and complexity of social structures. For the feminist standpoint, the “different” refers to a fertile diversity. It suggests that categorizations such as “women” and “men” should be deconstructed and the ontological differentiations within as well as between genders should be primarily dealt with (Wise and Stanley, 1995; p.78).

Lagrez (1995) argues that diversities should not be conceptualised as differentiations. It is necessary for feminism to be ready and willing to consider the diversity of women’s experiences. Similarly İlyasoğlu suggests that there are as many different realities and experiences of women as different social forms and cultures and historical contexts. However, it is important to see this diversification as a fertile source from which to understand women’s realities within a conceptual whole. In other words, İlyasoğlu suggests that it is possible to keep the diversities without rejecting the common ground of women’s studies as a discipline (İlyasoğlu, 1997; p.162-163).

If it is necessary to mention characteristics of feminist social research (Neuman, 2000; p.84)

- Advocacy of a feminist value position and perspective
- Rejection of sexism in assumptions, concepts, and research questions
- Creation of empathic connections between the researcher and those he or she studies
- Sensitivity to how relations of gender and power permeate all spheres of social life.

- Incorporation of the researcher's personal feelings and experiences into the research process
- Flexibility in choosing research techniques and crossing boundaries between academic fields
- Recognition of the emotional and mutual-dependence dimensions in human experience
- Action oriented research that seeks to facilitate personal and societal change.

If be needed to quote on the definitions of the feminism in abstract words while mentioning the feminist methodology, bearing in mind that there have been some dispute on what the feminism is; feminism has a lot of definition because of the terms which feminism includes have a lot of definition such as patriarchy, women's liberation, domestic labor, etc. According to Ramazanoğlu, feminism's definition is based on the definition of 'women' and feminist approach. "The narrow liberal definitions, which define feminism as a quest for equality with men, exclude most of new-wave feminism...The broad version, however, fails to convey the variety and contradictions of feminist thought of feminist thought. A unified version of feminism cannot reconcile the conflicting struggles within feminism". (Ramazanoğlu, 1990; p.7) On the other hand, Johnson gave a definition of feminism; "is a way of thinking critically about gender and its place in social life" (Johnson, 2005; p.102). Feminism is an intellectual framework, ideology and also challenge, and when feminists make these, they should be critical about the gender relations, oppression of women, cultural differences, class positions, etc. According to Johnson, there are some stereotypes about feminists; "feminists are antifamily, feminists are no fun, man-hating male bashers, here come the lesbians, feminists as victims". (Johnson, 2005; p.104–112)

Ramazanoğlu and Johnson claim that definitions of feminism are really diverse, but there are some points which are common in all forms of feminism. Firstly, all feminist forms declare that the unequal relationship between men and women should be changed. Next, feminists challenge against the idea of normal, natural and history of human society. Feminism, thirdly, try to develop some policies in order to change

the system. With consciousness raising groups, feminists also try to create awareness among women about their subordination. Feminism's arguments come across resistance and finally, feminism criticizes the reason, science and social theory because they externalize the women's knowledge. Because of this reason, feminist sociological theory involves feminist research which tries to describe the main social differences, feminist theory which attempts to explain these differences and inequalities, and feminist politics which tries to challenge inequalities. Briefly, feminist theory involves, first, recognition of the covert and overt forms of misogyny, second, recognition the absence of femininity in patriarchal discourses, third, understanding of suppression of women and try to change this in patriarchal text, finally, improving new methods for itself by using the patriarchal methods in the first step.

7.3. The Research Question

In this study, I tried to find answers to the following questions, around which the study's theoretical framework is shaped:

How and by which mechanisms does the patriarchy institutionalise the legitimate paedophilia by normalizing a situation which might be considered as a child abuse via men cooperation?

It was mentioned in the previous section that the patriarchy had many definitions. Regarding the definitions in case, the patriarchy in its may most generally be perceived as the suppression of women in a systematic manner. In addition to this, most basically patriarchy's gaining functionality by cooperation of men, its ability to sustain itself via converting the women into implementers of the oppression of which they have been personally the victims do matter particularly on the issue of early marriage which has been envisaged in this study and defined as seizure the rights of the woman on her body. In order to find answers to these questions on a theoretical level, I have discussed the relationship between patriarchy and women sexuality, fertility, marriage, exploitation of labor power in family referring to the radical feminist theoreticians and other feminist thinkers.

After the discussions on the marriage are made within their relation to the patriarchy, being itself a manner of violence, the most accepted way of suppressing women it shall be questioned how the children could exist within the institution of marriage and what it means to be a child bride. Should it be needed to ask the second question in this point;

What does it mean to be a child bride? What is it that creates the incompetency between being a child and being married? How do the child brides perceive themselves, how they observe the reasons and results of the early marriage depending upon their own life experiences?

In order to get answers to these questions

I will focus on deprivation of education, violence, exploitation of labor in the household, preventing of joining labor market, sexuality, motherhood and childcare... etc.

Theories on family marriage kinship practices have been used in order to understand the sexual roles of women within the family. Connections have been made up between the exploitation of the child brides in sense of sexuality and labour and their living through role complexities in the power relations within the family in the extended families on the rural areas and patriarchal regimes of sexuality of the families. In this point, it would be useful to mention a substantial assumption of the study. Women's being the victims of unequal power relations within the family is not a case peculiar to early marriage. The women might be subject to violence, might not have any right to speak on their fertilities, their domestica labour might be exploited even they get married after the age of 18 What matters in respect of this study is that the children would get much more affected by the exploitation caused by the marriage. In addition to this, situation peculiar to early marriage are also the case. Regarding the own life experiences of early married women, some experiences peculiar to early marriage that they relate to being married early might also be mentioned. Motherhood experience and complexity of roles within house might be cited.

Questions can be catogorized in eight aspects (multi-relational spheres):

- Sexuality: kin marriage- property relations, virginity, Islam and sexuality, meaning of marriage
- Violence: power relations in the household, domestic violence, tactics to cope
- Motherhood and childcare: health, meaning of having children
- Exploitation of Labor in the household
- Education
- Preventing from Joining Labor Market

7.4. The Research Methods

The thesis study is not a representative study. We can't understand Turkey's early marriage problem by looking at one province. The study will only give an idea about the issue. As a matter of fact that quantitative method will be used. Method won't be based on surveys, numbers etc.

Considering the conditions that silenced women, Wittner suggests that "we need to go directly to women to learn about their part in the production and reproduction of the society" (Anderson et al. 1990:106). In line with this suggestion, an "depth interview" research method was used in order to obtain information concerning child bride's marriage experiences.

There are several reasons for choosing the depth interview method. First, because the analysis is constructed by collecting personal experiences rather than general variables, producing qualitative rather than quantitative research. Analyses based on quantitative research are not well suited to understand the specificities of the phenomenon under study, although they are used to obtain general information about early marriage in Turkey.

Second, because I am interested in the experiences of early married women in Van, the semi-structured depth interview method works well with this group profile of participants, who are lonely in their crowded family who have many things need to tell about their lives and are looking for someone who asked them how they are.

Semi-structured depth interview technique also answers to and in turn benefits from their will to be listened. In this research, since I wanted to learn about women's own identifications with their child bride position and personal experiences in marriage, the depth interview technique is appropriate.

Finally, the depth interview method corresponds to the research's feminist methodological assumptions and intentions: It is first, because depth interview is a process in which experience turns into knowledge and "is an opportunity to share the human experience" (Thompson, 1999; p.7), and second, because it rejects those limitations and structures which prevent us from catching the most interesting directions of the research (Harding, 1987).

According to Wengraf (2001; p.61), phases in the development of a theory vary from model/theory building to model/theory testing. According to level of being structured, a research convergence to building or testing of theory.

"Fieldwork" is one way of the collecting/generating data. In fieldwork, data is generated in the place where subjects/informants live, work or interact with each other; or in informants' own cultural settings. It also requires intensive involvement and interaction with informants in the field (Gilchrist, 1999). A variety of data generation techniques can be used: Observational methods (participant observation etc.) and interview methods (interviewing, focus group, life history and oral history) and also (lesser) documentaries, diaries, photographs, videos. Data is generated from "settings, situations and interactions" (Mason, 2004; p.87)

In generally, interview methods refer to "conversation with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984; p.102). Therefore semi-structured interviewing will be used as a data generation method.

7.5. Research Site and Sampling

Data which are come from THDS is very helpful to understand to where child marriage is intense. The report does not directly say about early marriage but they give information about adolescent childbearing. According to that, adolescent motherhood varies strikingly thorough the regions. Teenage pregnancy is %3 in East

Black Sea region whereas it is % 10 in Central East Anatolia. Turkey divided 12 zones in TDHS. Central East Anatolia contains 8 provinces. These are Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Hakkari, Malatya, Muş, Tunceli, and Van.

Van Province is much more suitable for research because there is a women association (KADAV). They have joined conferences about early marriage, contributed some reports about early marriage and they are in connect with some NGO's which are studying about early marriages so they are familiar about early marriage.

Moreover Van province is the biggest city of those 8 provinces which are constitute Central East Anatolia both in the sense of population and surface area.

I made depth-interview with 20 women who get married before the age of 18. But one of them changed her mind and she required to me delete her voice record and notes of her interview. Therefore I have 19 participants. Sampling: Purposive and snowball sampling method is suitable to reach informants.

7.6. Research Process

In addition to the neighbourhoods of Cumhuriyet and Kaleyolu which are in the and close to the center of Van I have also been to the neighbourhoods of Yeni mahalle and Sürmeli which have been set up by migration on the periphery of the city. What I intended by visiting various neighbourhoods was to catch class differences. Whereas it was possible to find a ordinary structure in the neighbourhoods in the center Van, the neighbourhoods on the periphery had a view of poverty with its inordinary structure and the insufficient substructure. After the interviews, I have observed that the women share the same class position independent of the household income. Women's sharing the wealth of the men have been obstructed with the assumption that the women produce no value and have been made subject to economical violence by submitting them the amount solely enough to survive of the income gathered in the hands of men. In this respect, I have come to the conclusion that no distinction on the basis of class may be reached in the instant of Van on the issue of institutionalization and experiment of early marriage.

Gluck (1996) writes that cultural likeness between interviewee and interviewer promotes trust and openness while dissimilarity reinforces distance.

It is obvious that I do not enjoy the cultural similarity that Gluck emphasizes. The only similarity that I can only depend on in this research was to be a woman with the intention to communicate the women. Acquisition of the consents of the men was needed first in order to be able to walk around the neighbourhoods and make interviews. With this aim, I have first contacted the muhtar in the districts of Sürmeli and Yeni mahalle. After explaining my intention and güvenlerini kazandıktan sonra we went together to house of a woman who was to probably accept to interview with me. After finding the first interviewee in a neighbourhood it became possible for me to reach the other interviewees by the snowball technique.

To reach the women narrators who participated in this research, I used the snowball sampling technique. Each participant introduced me to another.

I have found my interviewees in the neighbourhoods of Kaleyolu and Cumhuriyet by the help of a guide teacher of a school in the center. The guide teacher's introducing me to the interviewees helped me a lot in getting their confidences. I used a tape recorder and took notes during the interviews, especially for spelling difficulties and names, as Martin suggests (1995; p.64).

Before I began the interviews, I tried to explain my study in detail to the participants (Martin, 1995; Cuttler, 1996). However, I tried to be careful not to reveal too much information. I explained the research in simple terms, as Martin (1995) suggests, since it could have been confusing for the participants. I told them why I was interested in their stories and how I was going to use the information they gave me.

This was a real process of empowerment, that they obviously felt themselves important.

Only two out of nineteen interviews, the interviews of mother-in-law and Navi Hanım, were carried out by the company of a translator. The interviewee of mine whom I coded as Mother-in-law could well understand Turkish language but since she thought she had not seen herself capable enough to speak Turkish, her bride

made translation for us. The interviewee of mine whom I coded as Navi Hanım could neither speak nor understand Turkish. We made the interview by the help of the neighbour of Navi Hanım. Only one out of nineteen interviewees of mine was ethnically Turk, and the remaining were Kurdish. Most of those who have learned Turkish but never attended in school have stated that they had learned it from their children who have been attending in schools or from the friends of theirs speaking Turkish with whom they used to play games together with.

The durations of the interviews vary upon the interest of the participant on the subject, her domestic responsibilities and the feeding times of their babies between 1 and 3,5 hours. With the interviewees of mine whom I met outside, it is seen that we had to be done before the darkness fell. In some of the interviews, due to having the stove on in solely one room, the little child of the interviewee played games and fell asleep beside us.

Generally, we shaped the interviews together. Sometimes they began telling me their stories on their own and sometimes they preferred to answer my guiding questions.

In my research, taking Lance's (1996) advice, I prepared a short questionnaire, which consisted of open-ended questions under a list of topics. There are two main, and six sub-topics concerning the phenomenon under study. The main topics include "experiences of marriage" and "thoughts about early marriage", with the sub topics of 1) sexuality; 2) violence; 3) motherhood and childcare; 4) labor; 5) deprivation of education; 6) preventing joining from labor market; 7) family background of the bride; 8) stolen childhood. Although I tried not to restrict the interviews to these topics, I considered the narratives with respect to this structure in order to obtain details useful for answering my research questions

As I have learned from Gluck's (1996) experiences, I asked the most general questions and waited to see where the question would lead. I used these questions to "allow women to reflect upon their experience and chose for themselves which experiences and feelings are central to their sense of their past" (Anderson, 1990; p.101). What I intended to do was to try "to help women to tell their own stories as fully, completely and honestly as they desire" (Anderson, 1990; p.101). The

principle was to guide the women narrators to express themselves freely (Thompson, 1999; p.104). Mostly, I did not refer to my questions since the women themselves covered most of the questions. Yet from time to time I used my interview form to check whether I missed any questions. As Thomson suggests, I interfered only if the narrator omitted, forgot, or gave less importance to certain points. Apart from these conditions, I tried not to interfere and let them tell me whatever they wanted to. This corresponded to Gluck's suggestions: The best interview is a quasi-monologue on the part of the interviewee which is encouraged by approving nods, appreciate smiles and enraptured listening and simulated by understanding comments and intelligent questions (Gluck, 1996; p.224)

One of my concerns during the research was to be careful to respond to the women individually and to avoid reducing them to observable objects of inquiry by imposing a standardised research structure. By doing so, I tried to see how each woman's subjective position was determined and appeared within the research. Wittner suggests that, to find out the alternative way of women's seeing the world, it is important to focus on their perspective (Anderson et al. 1990).

As a researcher, I should have considered and question my subject position and its influence on the research process. Here, I tried not to ignore my subjective influence on the interview process and the influence of the research on me. At the same time I avoided dominating the research with my expertise as a researcher and my own experiences as a woman. To do this, after interviews I rested a little and recorded my observations, feelings, and thoughts about the interview. This also helped me to make a content analysis "to control the effect of social environment of women" (Anderson et. all., 1990) and to understand the "atmosphere" that the women have been living in.

The interviews were moments in which we did look into lives of each other. It was quite interesting to have a look from another dimension into my own life by observing the samimi and deep sorrow into which my interviewees were taken by my being bekar and having no child at the age of 29 . Simultaneously, It was promising in sense of possibility of a common female language to be able to sense

sometimes what we had been trying to say solely by the looks despite all the ethnical, social, geographical differences between us.

7.7. Information about the Participants

I have made interviews with 19 women in order to understand how the patriarchy has institutionalized justified paedophilia and sustained its permanency, over the marriage experiences of the women who had been married early and what it means to be a child bride. Eight of my interviewees were over forty, five were over twenty, one was eighteen and the remaining were in the thirties. The ways of getting married of my interviewees between twelve and seventeen vary. It is possible to see arranged marriage, marriage by dating, kin marriage, exchange marriage, bride exchange and being given as a gift among the forms of marriage of my interviewees.

In addition to the interviews made with the early-married women, I have made interviews with eighteen public institutions and non-governmental organizations that are active in the city of Van in order to comprehend the reasons and results of early marriage. Van KAMER, Van The Women's Association of Mavi Göl, The Women's Association of Van, Maya Association of Women Solidarity, Mazlum-Der, Van Branch of Human Rights Association might be cited among the institutions that I have made interviews with.

Amongst the state institutions and organizations I have made interviews with are the representative of the Unit of Equality of Women and Men of the Governorship of the City of Van, member of the Execution Board of the Council of Women of the City of Van, the representative of the Center of Research and Application of Women's Problems of Municipality of Van, a female gynaecologist from The Maternity and Pediatrics Hospital of Van, three nurses from the services of newborn, puerperant, delivery room of the same hospital, a nurse from the Directorate of Social Services of the Province of Erciş, the Center of Childhood and Youth of the city of Van, an officer from the unit of community policing and a police officer from the police station, two teachers, one of whom is counselling teacher, working in a primary school in the centre, and an authorized person from the Center of Research and Application of Women's Problems of the Van 100th Year University.

The interviews made with the representatives of the non-governmental organizations and staffers of the public institutes were considered as complementary and subsidiary. The core interviews composing this study are the ones made with the early married women. In this study, the women I interviewed were approached not as researchable objects whose expressions were interpreted sociologically, but as subjects whose experiences became the central issue. In this respect, they themselves were seen as the main source of information.

CHAPTER 8

EARLY MARRIAGE IN VAN PROVINCE

8.1. Family Ideology: “I’ll get married anyway, one year earlier or one year later, what’s the difference.”

It has been observed that women who realize that they are to be married off at an early age do not oppose vehemently. Marriage is normalized in a major way by the fact that it is seen as the only thing on the horizon, accepted as unavoidable and marriage at an early is widespread.

No matter what she will get married either today or tomorrow, in the end she will get married (Navi)

I’ll get married no matter what, one year earlier or one year later. (Suna)

You are obliged to get married. The earlier the better. You’ll get married either this year or the next, if that is your fate then it will all become true. (Devlethan)

It is ignorance that people think daughters are visitors in the house. Because they are guests, they should go to their husbands’ houses as soon as possible. (Civil servant, Murat)

My observations tell me that girls are considered worthless. Something to be rid of as soon as possible so as not to get saddled

with them. If something happens to her it will be a load and black mark on the family for life. (NGO Z-1)

This presumption that the girl child is a guest can be exaggerated to the point where the family endeavor to collect all the expenses the girl has incurred from the husband's family who are the real owners of the girl. In addition to a dowry, sometimes milk money is demanded. A price is determined on the milk that the girl has received from her mother and compensation for this amount is demanded from the husband.

In addition to being accepted as unavoidable and something which shall take place sooner or later, although the drawbacks of waiting to get married are not sufficient to turn it into something desirable, at least it is normalized. The main drawback of waiting to get married is the fear of becoming "selective" regarding the choice of spouse in later years.

As one grows older and becomes aware enough to realize that she does not like the candidate who is being introduced as a possible spouse and she will be unhappy with him; in addition it is considered that waiting to get married decreases one's prospects for marriage.

Once you are 24 years old you won't like anyone. You will find fault with everyone. (Selva)

It is clear that marriage which is sublimated, seen as unavoidable is a repressive issue for a woman because some women, although they themselves have suffered as a result of early marriage, still want to marry off their own daughters at an early age. The reason they give for this behavior is that they think early marriage will be good for them. When a girl going to live with another family is young she will be able to adjust more easily to her circumstances. It is believed that if the girl is still young enough to be unaware of her individual personality it will be easier for her to discover the personalities of her in-laws, adapt to the family perfectly and thus suffer

less. In order to create the perfect victim it is believed that the candidate bride should be as young as possible.

If you marry at the age of around 20–25 you won't get to know the family so well. When you join the family at an early age you will accept your mother in law as if she were your mother and your father in law as if he were your father. You will to know and understand them better and adopt their idiosyncrasies. (Navi)

If you have an established personality when you join a family it will be difficult to adapt. At an early this adaptation is easier. You are malleable to adopt their idiosyncrasies and habits. When you enter a family at the age of 20 and 30 this results in a divorce within three months. (Rabia)

In order to minimize harm in the existing circumstances, it might be feasible to view early marriage as acceptable, but when asked about the ideal age for marriage a more progressive number is provided. While marriage at an early age guarantees that the child bride fully adapts to her new family with minimum damage, being under a heavy work load, difficulties in understanding the complex roles and power dynamics within the family can be mentioned as disadvantages of early marriage. The basic statement of “children cannot get married” is based on practical reasons rather than any fundamental rejection; it is a postponement in order to allow the child to gain skills. It is impossible to say that this objection based on practical reasons rather than principles displays any form of consistency. Many times a participant promoting early marriage has been heard to say “the ideal age of marriage should be 21” at a later stage in discussions.

A woman should marry after the age of 25 after everything is complete. When she is informed she can think better. I really can't say. I believe everybody. (Fadime)

I think the ideal age of marriage might be 21–22. At that age you mature. For instance I didn't even know how to wash dishes because I didn't do it in my family home. At first it was difficult. When you marry at an early age the family orders you to do this and that. Because you are young you don't know anything. That is why I don't think one should marry young. A girl should mature first. (Zehra)

If there are no other prospects for a woman outside marriage and the degree of harm imposed on the child is dependent upon the docility and malleability of the child, the family sees no harm in marrying off the child at an early age. This non-objection state is nurtured by the limitation in other forms of existence. The fact that there is no school in the living area of a young girl, even if there is one, the father might not allow her to attend or the fact that the girl is not motivated to study because there are no role models in her vicinity can also be considered among reasons which steer a young girl towards early marriage.

I attended school until the fifth grade. My father wanted me to study. But I was childish and ignorant, I didn't want to study. None of my siblings or anyone in the vicinity studied. Such circumstances have an influence. (Zehra)

The number of girls in elementary school is high, in high school it is approximately 20-25 percent. The number of girls in high school is low. There are very few university graduates. (NGO, Z-1)

The minimum amount of time spent in the paternal home also has an enhancing influence on the adoption of the groom's family. Since the ties with her own family are not strong, bonding with the new family seems to be the only option for the young girl. In addition, the unequal role distribution of child bride, oppressor oppressed relationship and traditional role distribution further internalize early marriage. Being oppressed at an early age prevents the idea that marriage could be a relationship of equals from discovery until middle age at the earliest. This process is supported by the fact that the child bride thinks all marriages are as miserable as her

own. During the first long years of her marriage the child bride perceives herself as a housebound slave devoted to providing a comfortable environment for her husband.

A woman's demands cannot override the demands of a man because in the end the man is the man of the house. If I make a mistake I don't keep it from him because he is the head of the house. He should be more tolerant. Generally speaking, if a woman assumes a slightly humble attitude there will be harmony. If the woman shouts a lot the man will become fed up. If she nags constantly the man will go elsewhere. I learnt all this in the beginning so when he shouts I shut up. (Rabia)

It attracted the attention of an NGO volunteer that the girl is pushed into slavery before any return developments occur, she is forced to accept all and any treatments and be victimized without the possibility of using any initiative. (NGO, Ferahat)

Another argument presented by child brides in favor of early marriage is that they will have children at an early age and in the future those children will be friends to the mother.

Marriage at an early age is good, at least your child will catch up with you. In the future we can be friends. Imagine if I married after 30 and had a child at the age of 35. When will my child get to be my age. It is nice to have your own child as a friend. (Rabia)

When explaining their reasons for marrying their daughters off at an early age the families assess the situation immersed in good will. When assessing the reasons for promoting early marriage, the families involved consider this to be in favor of the girls; the fathers are relieved because they have transferred the upkeep of the girl to another family so the girl is not left on her own if something were to happen to the father.

My father said that their mother has died, god forbid if I also die they will fall into the hands of their brothers. That is why he promoted marriage, he meant well. (Navi)

I think marriage is wonderful. If you don't marry you can only remain in the father's house so long. When your parents die who is going to look after you. When you get married at least you have children and family of your own, someone to be with. An older brother might provide for you but he is not alone, he is with someone else who does not want you. It is best to have a home of your own. (Zehra)

Marriage provides a woman with an opportunity to gain power, have an area where they have influence. Remaining in the paternal home or living with male siblings can be compared to working in a dead-end job with no possibility of promotion. On the other hand, marriage provides the woman opportunities to negotiate for power within the patriarchal system. Accordingly, when a girl after marriage produces a male child she can increase her status within the family, can experience the power of authority she will exercise over her own daughters in law. In this perspective, marriage is revealed as an area similar to the prospects of a career.

A woman who does not study is obliged to get married. What else can she do if she ends up in her father's house, in the hands of her brother and his wife. (Devlethan)

I think marriage is wonderful, what else is there to do if you remain in your father's house, when your parents die who shall look after you. At least when you marry you have a family of your own, someone to hold your hand. If you had an older brother he might want to take care of you but his wife wouldn't. It is best to have a home of your own. (Zehra)

In addition, the fundamental function of marriage reveals itself in the form of a social security system. A woman feels obliged to find someone to provide for her.

An unemployed woman is obliged to marry, who will look after her, an employed woman can choose to marry or not but if you don't work and earn money you are obliged to get married, you can stay in your father's house until the age of 20. After the age of 20 it is possible to hang around for a few more years. There will be pressure from the community when you remain unmarried. As they grow older the parents will fear for their unmarried daughter; who will provide for her when we are gone. However, if she works, she can choose whether to marry or not. (Mother in Law)

In addition to establishing itself in the form of a social security system, marriage, it provides the opportunity of transferring the responsibility of the father to protect the virtue of the woman to another family.

I came home from school, there were people to see me for marriage. This happened rather often. I was pretty. My gave me away early so that I would not cause trouble. They do that here as did he. (Sevgi)

We have also received information from the media that gang rapes of very young girls in the region creates a feeling of major fragmentation. Abuse disrupts the environment of confidence and this has an effect on the approach of families particularly towards girl children. They are married off under the guise of honor and the home is accepted as the only secure area. (NGO, Ferahat)

Perhaps marriage can be defined as a door of desperation consisting of such features as being a social security system, a place where a woman can achieve the status that is her rightful due as a human being or a platform where she can prove that she is not an afflicted witch.

Fear of being a spinster, childless and growing old alone are also features which have a part in encouraging forcible marriage.

Although marriage is seen an effluence of good will and intentions for girls, for some reason women are not able to reap such benefits. Fathers who marry their

daughters off at an early age in order to provide a secure future for them later on witness the unhappiness of their daughters and experience deep sorrow.

My father is sorry he forced me to marry. After I married my father had a heart attack. I lost my father 4-5 months after the attack.
(Kıymet)

Considering that most of the participants had not completed even elementary school are were not planning a future on the labor market there was no reason for postponing marriage.

In the recent past, one of my students married young. She finished junior high school and got married. When I asked her what the hurry was she said what is the use of studying, did those who studied find jobs. (Classroom teacher, Nurettin)

In addition, working and a long period of studying or rather spending time outside the home are assessed as features which exposed the woman to ruining her reputation with each passing minute and jeopardized her status on the marriage market. Fear that an unmarried woman has an affliction which prevents marriage is also a consideration which promotes marriage. Being unmarried is considered to detract from a woman's status as a human being.

If you are unmarried nobody wants you. An unmarried person is either a witch or something else. They are considered out of sorts. In order to avoid being considered any of these, girls are obliged to get married. Of course that is valid for unemployed girls; employed professionals are not obliged. They can marry when they want.
(Suna)

Marriage is a good thing. When a remains unmarried people will ask things like why didn't this girl get married, what's wrong with her.

When she is married she can stand up for herself, she knows who she is. (Nuriye)

Because of legal provisions which prohibit early marriage, the marriage is blessed with a religious ceremony at first. The civil ceremony required by the legal framework may follow the religious ceremony in a few years time after the production of some children. When the children conceived out of legal wedlock reach school age which require official identity cards is usually when the couple get legally married. In some cases the legal age of the child is increased and she can marry legally.

At first we were wed with the religious ceremony. After having 3–4 children we had a civil ceremony. (Gül)

I had 4 children by the time we had an official wedding ceremony. The time passed by. We had a civil ceremony the year my daughter started school. Our children did not have official identity cards until then. (Selva)

I got married at 16 with a religious ceremony. Three months later my age was legally increased and I had a legal wedding. (Zehra)

We can fundamentally differentiate the attitudes of women married off early regarding their own children into three groups. Firstly the perfect victims who consider early marriage to be the right thing and want to marry off her own daughter although the woman herself has experienced major harm as a result of her own early marriage must be considered. It can be said that the attitude of approval of these women for the early marriage of their own daughters constitutes the propagation of new victims by the perfect victims. The oppressed create their own victims; oppression is not enough to formulate awareness.

Since the level of education of the mothers is rather low they believe that their daughters should marry young as they did. (Civil servant, Murat)

As put descriptively reminded by Frantz Fanon “the oppressed direct their violence at each other”, those most cruel emerge from among the most innocent.

My mother gave me away by force, she induced my father. My mother gave me a beating. She insisted that I go. (Kıymet)

Secondly there are those who represent the attitude that girls should get an education and acquire economic freedom and finally those who have embraced an attitude of fate who link early marriage to fortune and predestination and manifest that women actually have no control for their destinies.

The last one is actually the most realistic attitude because although the mothers may have impact in the process they are not the ultimate decision makers. Marriage is considered so sacrosanct that it is very difficult to say that even those who say “I want my child to get an education and not marry early like I did” display decisiveness in this issue. Instead of fundamentally taking a stand opposing marriage at an early age, one might say after a woman who spoke the above words that “early marriage is good for someone with skills. She might be having difficulties at home” (suna). Even women who say they want to educate their child will say that if their daughters want “I will not stand in the way of her happiness, I don’t want to do her wrong,” (mother in law) they will not oppose the marriage. The harmful effects and victimization of early marriage does not always bring consciousness with it and the victims create their own victims. Since a notion of childhood in the contemporary sense has not been established, early marriage is not conceptualized with child abuse, but rather that the disadvantages are perceived as caused by ineptitude.

I regret getting married early, some of the disgracefulness I experienced for instance could have been avoided if I had known how to cook; I should have known how to learn at least. It is much better to have skills instead of being in disgrace. It is exhausting until you learn. However, I do not regret my husband at present. (Gül)

In rural areas a girl starts getting proposals of marriage when she turns fifteen. Actually it is wrong. People do not know how to port themselves at a young age. When you marry you go to another family. The problems there are different from the ones you are used to. (Fadime)

When you marry young you don't understand anything. You don't know yourself yet. You tumble into marriage. (Selva)

If there will be happiness then early marriage is not bad. Marry at 15 if you wish; I think it is bad if it is forced. However, I would not give my daughter away at 15 even if she were in love because she cannot manage the housework. (Kıymet)

It is important to find out what kind of attitude women who have married at early age have taken against early marriage because while the patriarchal early marriage mechanism is operated by men it is also supported by women. The negative attitude of women for early marriage shows the degree to which they have internalized the subject. Mothers are aware that they will be unable to display a will strong enough to prevent early marriage, however, they can assume a role which facilitates early marriage. Mothers can also be among those who wish to convince a girl by applying violence.

My mother beat me and said I was to go. (Kıymet)

An example of a participants who prefers her daughter to get an education rather than get married;

Let there be no early marriages, girls should not do any thing that they will regret later on. Girl students should not leave school to get married, it is more important to get an education. (Suna)

It is impossible to say that all early marriages are forced. The importance given to matrimony also motivates the girls.

An environment where friendship between men and women is not possible, the impossibility of flirting also has an increasing effect on early marriage. Girls fearing of getting a name for themselves stay away from men; on the other hand considering that women display a psycho-social need for male attention, the interest of a male triggers an emotional gap and she starts nurturing feelings of intimacy towards the male who has sought her out. However, once her name has been associated with a male, there is no turning back for fear of receiving second hand treatment. After this point it seems like the smartest option that the girl marries the person whom she has been associated with. One has to ask, if flirting were possible might girls be more resistant against early marriage?

He was my uncle's son he wasn't a stranger, he worked with my brother. My friends had loved ones. I didn't and I wanted to fall for someone. Later on I changed my mind and said that I wanted to study but my brother didn't let me, he said I would get a reputation. I realized I was going to stay at home; since I am to get married I might as well marry him because he isn't a stranger so I married him. (Suna)

Having your name associated with someone else's is a factor obligating one to marry the said person; being engaged is also perceived as a one way track to matrimony.

I don't know why I rushed around so much, maybe because he wanted it and I thought nobody else might. Let's call it destiny. (Suna)

I told my father let's break off the engagement, he said that was not possible since he was well known in Van. (Kıymet)

After the engagement I found out he was married with 6 children. We returned the ring. He gave the ring to my uncles. He said everyone had heard about the engagement so he could not take the ring back. He said that once a ring was placed on a finger it was very embarrassing to return it. That is the custom in our clan. (Devlethan)

The fear of the possibility of remaining unmarried is so strong that people endeavor to realize a marriage without too many refusals since it is believed that rejecting a proposal equals rejecting a foreordination and thus result in ending all chances.

My mother said that many marriage prospects are coming and you are refusing them all. She told my father that it was a shame. I cried until the wedding day. I didn't want it to happen. (Kıymet)

The number of prospects seeking the hand of the girl is considered to be an indication of the value of a girl and as such the number of suitors coming to propose to their small girl is a matter of pride for the mothers.

The first step in sanctioning of any kind, that is violence towards a woman, is marrying her off without her consent as a result of the negotiations of men – and the support of women. (Civil servant Ceyhan)

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My niece got married last year at the age of 15. I was shocked. She said she loved him and went. Her family didn't try to stop her. Now she has a child. It is unknown what tomorrow brings. (Ngo, Narin)

However, once her name has been associated with a male, there is no turning back for fear of receiving second hand treatment. After this point it seems like the smartest option that the girl marries the person whom she has been associated with. One has to ask, if flirting were possible might girls be more resistant against early marriage?

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When early marriage is caused at the will of the young girl, the conditions that established this desire must be discussed. Remaining a spinster and the impossibility of flirting are parameters which comprise the conditions of consent.

Having your name associated with someone else's is a factor obligating one to marry the said person; being engaged is also perceived as a one way track to matrimony.

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In our village unmarried girls at the age of 16–17 are considered spinsters. They were happy when they got married at 17 years of age. We got married they were still unmarried at 20. She said our luck has changed that is why I wanted, I'm glad I got married. (Mother in Law)

Women boast about how many suitors come to ask for the hand of such a young girl. They crow over how somebody else's daughter is a spinster. (Narin)

Whether or not there are regrets regarding an early marriage are determined in the existence of alternatives. If there were no educational facilities in the area at the time of marriage then she will not regret the marriage. In order to question her own status another way of life must be presented to her.

I wanted to study but it was unavailable. Those girls receiving suitors were all leaving. I don't my marriage because I was in the village. Maybe now I would regret it. There is no school to go to, sooner or later you get married. My only option was marriage. That is why I got married. (Mother in Law)

If there had been a school I would have wanted to study but at that time there wasn't one. (Nuriye)

The fact that marriage is seen as a religious responsibility also prevents the development of a life vision outside marriage.

Even God has ordered marriage. He said get married. An existence without marriage is impossible. One needs a home and the like. (Selva)

By the time the children learned that they were going to get married they generally have not resisted since they were not capable of comprehending the situation and since they had known that their refusals would not work.

I said nothing. Let it be the way as my father orders, I said. Yet, I wasn't sure. (Selva)

I could not reject. I didn't have even the chance for refusal. There were my father, my brothers, they wanted it, and they gave me away. (Gül)

The community approves such marriages. If girls do not go to school then they are married off, this happens even when they are students, they are taken from school to be married off. The way of thinking that what is the point of studying is evident. (NGO, Narin)

The engagement period before marriage seems much like a step taken to control the female child as soon as possible than a period considered for the spouses to get to know each other. The engagement period which functions as an early reservation operation in the early marriage is experienced not as a period for the spouses to get

to know each other but rather as a period in which the young girl begins to assume the responsibility of the marriage.

The engaged female child, by the time she is engaged, is made take the marriage responsibility and is expected to relinquish her childhood. Running in the streets, laughing out, playing games come into be banned and in the mentioned reservation period she is being told as if “divorce your childhood, get ready to marriage”.

I was 12 when I was engaged. She is a beautiful girl. She is a relative. They engaged her so she would not go outside the family. An engaged girl cannot go out in the street and talk to people. (Perihan)

The couple to get married can in no way see each other and for those who can it is possible only in eid visits, within the crowd

We never saw each other. We kept being engaged till the following year. We never saw each other while we were engaged, it was disgraceful for us. We were ashamed. (Navi)

I was in engagement for six months. I just saw him once, which was on the night we got married. (Mother in Law)

We hardly met when we were engaged, waiting for the eid, and thus my fiancée to come... It was not allowed to spend time together and there was no telephone such as in present. (Fadime)

Breaking off the engagement which is as binding as marriage may not be the case, since the breaking off of the engagement is considered as a sort of divorcement the young girl can not demand it, and even if she does, this demand of hers is strongly rejected.

I have cried in the engagement period, I begged my father for breaking the engagement off. I was all the time afraid, disgusted. I was feeling faint even in the engagement period. I said I didn't want

to get married. My father said to me ‘I am a recognised person in Van, I cannot break the engagement off, never’. (Kıymet)

It is also possible to involve the “berdel” among the reasons of early marriage. Berdel might be defined as mutually giving the daughters for marriage. When giving a woman away for marriage from his own family is set as condition for the male member of the other family who wishes to get married in exchange for the woman he wishes to get married with, this woman may be given away for marriage despite even being a child. That is to say, the little sister is sacrificed in order to marry the brother off. This practice provides savings on the bride price while making the destinies of the two marriages depend on each other. This practice is based upon the presumption that by the time one of the marriages comes to an end, the other would also be terminated. It is considered that the practice of berdel would provide that the families shall act with the consciousness that the daughter given away will in just the same way be treated as the woman who has become the bride within the family. Thus, functioning as a sort of insurance system.

I was a child and we were also berdel. Everything in the berdel is mutual. I guess that they have not also made the bride suffer too much. Had they made me suffer, so would ours have made their daughter. (Gül)

Sister of my husband and brother of mine got married. We also had the berdel. They gave as berdel . (Navi)

My brother saw and liked my sister-in-law. The family of the sister-in-law of mine insisted on berdel. My brother was in love with her. They said they would solve this out. Since they could not, they gave me away. It was berdel what they did; I had a child before I was sixteen. (Gül)

Both of the two narrators who presented a positive early marriage experience, being aware of their own depended situations, have expressed that the state of theirs was a good fortune.

It's (early marriage) not a problem if the family atmosphere is good, but if it's not good then it's so sad for you. Hopefully, my mother-in-law cared after me as if her own daughter. We were sleeping inside the same room when my husband was away. Whatever spare came into the house, she gave me. In order not to make me feel lonely. She cared after me as if my own mother, even my own mother did not do that much for me. (Saadet)

Another case caused by early marriage is the shortness of fidelity of the early married woman to her own family as a result of the time she spends with her own family being shorter than the amount of time she spends in the house of the husband. The young girl's hardly feeling fidelity to her own family strengthens the feel of being dependent to the family of her husband's.

By the feel that she has got nowhere else to go or no one else to get psychological support within the sickness of violence, abuse and exploitation she faces, she chooses the option to divert the violence to herself. I suppose that all of my interviewees' with no exception having tried the suicide at least at once is not a coincidence.

Early marriage carries with it also a feel of being expelled. Thus, she gets the idea that her only remedy would be the house that she is a bride within.

They got rid of the girls (for her other early married sisters), they're gone. (Ayten)

I've sheltered in my lord, want a piece of his treasure. Allah is the friend of the fallen. I've sheltered in my God. I never had a good day. I do not bear the love of my family inside me... I got nothing good from my family, we never had a happy day. (Baran)

They express their feels of compulsion and appreciation by saying “how much have I got from even my own father”, as also stated by a Women’s association in the city of Van.

All except three of my interviewees have been married off by the manners we can name as *gözücü usulü*, *berdel takas*, *hediye edilme*. Having kinship with the person to get married with might be a point of consolation for the woman. It may be rather less scary to get married with a cousin with the thought that “it shall rather be a relative than a just stranger” (Suna).

All but three of my interviewees have been married off with their relatives in arranged way or by *berdel*. Arranged marriage is, as is the case with the *berdel*, thought to prevent violence .

I haven’t been exposed to violence since he was the son of my uncle.
For that reason, I haven’t been exposed to violence. (Gül).

The most substantial disadvantage of the early marriage is explained as not to know what to do in the house, not to be able to sufficiently carry the responsibilities that marriage carries with, as the early married women state. The case which is defined as not to be able to fulfill the responsibilities that marriage brings along varies from incapability of handling the load of housework to inability to carry on the housework, inability to comprehend the inside house roles and complicated power relations.

Getting married at an early age is very good for the literate and very bad for the illiterate. Good for the skillful but bad for the unskilled.
You feel that it’s had, so hard. (Suna)

In some cases, it is strongly restricted for the bride to see her own family. It might be perceived as the woman who goes to visit her own family commits a crime of

neglect regarding the family of hers into which she was taken as a bride or as having prejudiced her fidelity to the new family of hers.

They did not show me even to my family. I've had sisters. Even in the case they were just crossing on the street, my mother-in-law used to say "Bitch! Why do you stare at your sisters?" She didn't want me to visit my parents. (Kıymet)

Another ground for preventing the woman from visiting her own family is the fear of a conflict with the other men who have authority on the woman upon hearing about the oppression practised on the woman.

In some cases, the own family of the bride might not would like their daughters to visit themselves often. These visits might be considered as obstacles for the bride to get used to her new family. Besides, the weight of house work put on the shoulders of the child bride might be so heavy that she may not even be able to meet her own family, without any need to any restrictions, due to lack of time and being so busy.

My family never came to see me and ask how I am. They didn't come because they thought I would tag along after them. (Süreyya)

Since my family was a bit far away and there were many work, I used to see my family once a year. However, they said nothing. There was no ban or something alike. (Mother-in-Law)

Their statements on perceiving being taken into another house as a visit is a shocking indicator of their misunderstanding the situation, being unaware severity of the situation.

I was a kid. I didn' know anything when I had got married. The marriage was something like going on a visit. (Gül)

I thought it was a game, thought it was a visit. (Süreyya)

They prepared a bag for me, I fetched it and went, it was kind of like going on a visit , I felt that way. (Münevver)

The situation of the child brides who have difficulties in comprehending that they are not visitors but brides in the houses in which they have gone like visitors express itself in very painful forms. The situation of the participator who has, also by the effect of the age gap between them, called her husband “big brother” in a way which may be considered as an indicator of the hierarchical relation between them is just like a criminal complaint.

I called my husband “big brother” for one year. Than, he got angry with me.He bridled at me till the evening. He warned me well: “This is what husband is, it shall not be called “big brother”. Than, I gave up. (Gül)

I knew nothing by the time I came here. I got tall and got weight in here. I used to sit on the lap if my father-in-law calling him ‘father’ (Zehra)

In fact, we see the clear spontaneousness of making incisive determinations the child bride in calling “big brother”. In a house shared with mother-in-law and father-in-law, the husband is the one who would teach the new power balances to the child bride. Since father-in-law is a figure of authority which is above also the husband, both of them, as spouses are in position of subject. In this regard, the spouse functions as a “big brother” who would teach the right patterns of behavior rather than a spouse.

My husbands tells me all the time that I am like a child. He says he has to train me. He trains me. He teaches me things I don’t know.

Like when a small child gets carried away and speaks out of turn. Sometimes I forget and chip in a conversation where my father-in-law is present. He signals to me to shut up, that it is shameful. (Rabia k.)

Another problem is child brides' remembering their childhoods whenever they see a child playing games since the memories of the child bride belonging to the times she was playing games are so fresh. We may state that this recall causes them to feel deeply the passing from childhood to being a bride this sharp.

I missed to play games in early times. One remembers his/her childhood. You turn back and remember, I mean. So it passed by. (Gül)

I missed playing games but there was no time. I felt like playing games, you are yet just a kid, do not know what things are. I sometimes stare at my daughter and see that she is yet a kid. She plays with her dolls. She is fourteen. I was married at the age of hers, think about that. (Kıymet)

We sometimes used to play games with sisters-in-law in front of the door. It was not of course too often. (Selva)

Situations which are expressed as "not knowing how to be a bride" usually refer to having difficulty in adapting to new roles. Covering the mouth with a scarf made of gauze and forgetting the rule that one should not speak in the presence of the father-in-law, calling the husband and children by name in the presence of in-laws, playing with the sister and brothers-in-law are tragic testimonies that a child bride has been vested with responsibilities which overwhelm her.

As an instance of incapability to cope with domestic responsibilities and not to be able to comprehend power balances and on the problem of adaptation to the new roles;

Getting married early is bad. I swear it is. For instance, you are a kid and playing games, and you suddenly see that you have began cooking. You don't know how to cook. For example, after playing games, they say "sweep the house". You don't know how to sweep it. For instance, what is mother-in-law? You do not know how to show respect to and how to treat her, then it's too bad. I mean, you are not conscious of yourself. One who knows herself is different than the one who doesn't. (Gül)

I behaved like a child. Sometimes this would bring comments from the outside. You are bride why are you playing. I didn't know that you were not supposed to talk to an older sister-in-law and father-in-law. I talked to them. They heard my voice. That means I was not a successful bride. There are so many rules. You cannot eat or have tea in the presence of your father-in-law, you can't go to bed before he does. (Nuriye)

It is not quite good to get married early, one doesn't know much. One goes to somewhere is different, comes across different people. You do any type of work and they do not like it. Even walking is a fault. (Ayten)

I did not know anything yet. For instance, didn't know how to talk. I suffered a lot, I mean bothers. (Fadime)

When I got married I was a child and behaved like a child, I would laugh for no reason. I would have childish banter with my husband. I would dance when I heard music. I would argue with those my own age. I felt the way a child feels. I never thought that I had a child of my own and behave accordingly. I can cry over something for an hour. When I didn't get what I wanted I would cry for an hour. When I got sick I cried for my mother. Imagine, I have a child of my own yet I cry for my mother. (Sevgi)

The woman, in the war of making up to the masters by bridling at the inabilities of the new bride, is trying to ingratiate herself with the masters via using the

hierarchical relations between her rivals on the field where she has been caged. Despite belonging to the same class the women compete with each other in hostility being unaware of this fact. And it comes to be so coercive for the child bride at the bottom of the hierarchy who is unaware of the power relations.

The child bride, in the house she has been gone, finds herself not only trying to get used to new roles but also in an atmosphere of competition within which are also the sisters-in-law and mother-in-law.

My sister-in-law did look forward for a mistake of mine. Kind of like “let her make a mistake then I’ll tell it to my big brother. The sister-in-law was home, I was fed up, he never did anything and never liked what I did. (Fadime)

The kin marriage is not perceived as a very unfavorable thing except its rendering the divorce totally impossible.

The kin marriage might be considered convenient in the instance of Suna with the mentality that “it shall rather be a relative than a just stranger”. In Gül instance, she can say “ we were relatives, that’s why he did not beat me”. Or, as the case in the instance of Fadime, since the husband is a relative, the insult he makes might hurt much more.

Kin marriage is nice. It is better to be with someone you know (Nuriye)

Occasionally, when he swears while we are having arguments I feel offended. Because we’re relatives. But I wouldn’t feel offended if we were not. I would of course, but not that muc...I feel worse. It is bad in that sense, I mean. (Fadime)

I guess kin marriage is bad. One can never get divorced. It is the relative, you know. You just can’t. (Selva)

Even in cases which the bride does not live together with the mother-in-law, the bride cannot go out in occasions which she is not together with a woman from the family of the husband.

I've lived together with my mother-in-law and whatever they said was done. Even if the brides live separately they still cannot go anywhere on their own. (Fadime)

It is possible to conceive the authority of the mother-in-law on the bride as a piece of the "patriarchal deal". The woman bears this much of suffer with the dream and assurance that she would someday have a slave whom she can maltreat; and when that day comes along she actualizes the practice of suppression which she had learned by being massacred.

The instance of Devlethan might be presented as an exceptional case where the bargain at stake does not apply. As a person who cannot enjoy such an authority, Devlethan has wanted to act like the mother-in-law of the brides of the woman whom she had become the kuma of, however, she had failed. Because of not being the actual mother of the sons and older than the brides, the brides do not take her seriously and Devlethan thinks that she cannot get back what she had deserved regarding the labor she had spent for the sons. Being overwhelmed by the burden to care and inability to use any authority in return her as much to disrupt her health.

I have a hole detected in my heart. The doctors told that it was because of stress. I had no health problems. The brides came along, they had children, the population got increased. Stress got increased and my heart got a hole in it. No matter what I say the brides find it offensive, I am the same age they are. They are not leery or fear me. (Devlethan)

Two of the participants have stated that they got married as being kumas. It is possible to mention many disadvantages of getting married as being a kuma. The

first one is to have step children older than herself in the house where the child bride had come as kuma. A woman's having step children older than or at the same age with herself by the time she gets married just shows the pedophilia dimension of the early marriage in a striking way. This situation also leads the woman to be exposed to violence by her stepchildren. The disadvantages of being married off as a kuma have been presented as much the interviewees have expressed. However, for a woman, the situation of being subject to violence is not the sole harm of having step children elder than herself. It is obvious that such a case would lead to other types of abuse.

I got married. My step son was three years older than me. My step daughter was at the same age with me. (Devlethan)

My stepsons gave me a beating, I could not beat them when they were small, however, when they grew up they beat me. They were imitating the behavior of their father and beating me. (Süreyya)

The one whom had been brought a kuma upon accepts or is not able to reject such a situation. We may consider also the mechanism which makes the woman accept the kuma within the patriarchal bargain.

The woman, after the time she goes through menopause, by the time she becomes unable to give birth, since her identity, her existence has been formed upon giving birth, she is considered as being in a deficiency. Then, the husband's bringing in a woman who is at an age to give birth or has menstruated, as a wife upon his wife who had fallen into a position of deficiency becomes legitimate. In order to express this situation, the woman who went into menopause is called as "er kadın". Even the woman in menopause loses the fertility, with the title of "er kadın", she compensates her deficiency by getting one step closer to the class of the masters. The rank of, or say consolation, er kadın shows the little female child who comes in as then new bride much more tolerable.

The woman whom a “kuma” is brought upon, with the consolation she gets by the rank of “er kadın”, might become delighted by the perception that she gets an assistant by the thought that she would get rid of the workload. The child bride who comes as a kuma is submitted to the service of her master “er kadın.”

She (the woman of whom the child bride is the kuma of) always used to call me ‘my daughter’. She used to say ‘I wish you came ten years before’. ‘You are thus good for me’ she used to say. (Devlethan)

Domestic violence is considered so inevitable that participant Süreyya can say ” I wish my husband had a second wife. Then my husband would not be able to beat me so much, he would take a break.”

One of the participants Rabia k. is angry at her father for marrying a second wife over her mother and prefers marriage in childhood. Rabia wants to get married to get away from the emotional violence of her home life and meets the step mother-in-law which the father-in-law has brought as second wife to the husband’s house. Suddenly she finds herself in the middle of the very situation in her new life that she was trying to escape from with a mother-in-law her own age.

My father remarried after my mother. I was very hurt by this. I told my father that I would go with anyone who came to ask for my hand in marriage just to get away from him. My father-in-law also took a second wife when my mother-in-law was alive. My husband’s uncle also has two wives. All Kurdish men are like that. Actually it is a situation which could be reported to legal authorities. Rabia k.

8.2. Child Abuse and Male Domination: “My father has given me as a gift to the son of my uncle.”

All but two of the interviewees have mentioned about being subject to violence. They have told that they have been exposed to violence by the spouse, mother-in-

law, step children and sisters and brothers of the spouse . The high commonness of the violence has a decreasing effect on the newsworthiness of the incident. The women name the violence that they live through by the names such as “rightful violence”, “unrightful violence”, “beating”, “slap” and see the “light violence ” as excusable. Since the mother tongue of the all families around is violence, the violence cannot even show up within their internal conversations.

I didn't need to tell it – to family – since it happened in every household (Suna)

Nowadays, whoever gets exposed to violence runs away with someone else, or runs to the family home. I could not even tell my parents that I had been beaten up. (Ayten)

There is no violence but slap. (Rabia k.)

Some minor violence was the case, but not beating. There was slap and things alike but not bruises or breaks, nothing like.(Suna)

Some lighter form takes place, sometimes when the occasion arises. (Navi)

Violence comes out to be minor, it is everywhere. Whoever tells that she had never been slapped, it's a lie. That sort of little stuff. (Selva)

Kin marriage also occurs as a factor in women's blackingout and excusing the violence.

I used to say nothing. We used to solve out in between since he is a relative. If ever I had told it (that I had been exposed to violence) to

my father, there would come to be mayhem again. I used not to get involved whatever words were told by whomever. (Navi)

Another reason of not telling the violence to the family or anyone else is the situation in which one thinks that everyone else is also exposed to violence.

I think that this is what the marriage is. Everyone suffers this way. (Ayten)

The apologizing of the husband just after committing violence leads to the woman's incomprehension of her own situation, who is already under age. Whereas, the apologize of the man who commits violence just after committing violence is solely a ground for following commitment of violence. Realization of the cycle of commitment of violence and then apologizing is harder for a little girl than for an old woman.

My husband used to beat me. He used to regret it after just five minutes everytime. I've got beaten up several times, too many to tell. I still have fear inside me even now. I am still scared of people. (Kıymet)

Just after beating, he apologizes a lot, he suddenly becomes a good person. I used to think if it was me who drove him this much crazy. (Münevver)

Women have hopes that their husbands would get straighten. They put up with violence with a mentality that as if there is a threshold to be passed for happiness, bad things shall be lived thorough before and with a degree of a ascetic feel and mostly by an expectation of straightening. Whatever expected never comes into life.

As long as I expected him to straightening it got worse and worse. He advanced upon much more, thinking that I cannot run away any more. (Süreyya)

It is not solely the physical violence; they are also exposed to emotional violence via criticizing, disliking and telling off all the time. Continuous telling off and criticism are used as ways of auditing.

Mother-in-law of mine used to scare me by shouting, by words. For instance, if I am just sitting, “why the hell are you sitting”, if I am just standing up, “why the hell are you standing up”. “You eat too much”. “Why don’t you drink tea?”. Everything was a problem. I was afraid even to cry. They didn’t let me cry even when my father passed away. (Kıymet)

Another situation which indicates that age has effects in the experiencing of the violence shows up via the bride’s being less afraid of the husband by the time she gets older and by her shouting in response during a quarrel. The violence which has increased due to lack of any resistance has withdrawn by the woman’s growth and responding. The older she gets the less afraid she becomes. She improves much effective manners of resistance. Actually, what she learns is how to fight. The beating turns out to be something unscary after experiencing the worst manners of violence.

I am not afraid him anymore, I am the one who shouts at him, who gets angry. Not afraid any more. (Kıymet)

The beatings are over for last eight years. Actually, he would still be beating but I am not silent any more. I respond back. I used to keep silent before. Now, he refrains from me. (Süreyya)

He says disgusting things when we fight. I answer back now. (Münevver)

Being occupied with work , hiding under the bed, locking herself in the room, refraining by the way of keeping down, keeping silent by internalizing the right of the male to use violence, by getting to learn the sign language that the male has established. following these signs and accommodating the self occur as the mechanisms to cope with violence .

I was dealing with a work in order not to have any troubles (Navi)

When your husband says something, you have to keep silent. I keep silent when it is necessary. When you say nothing, your husband does not also say anything else, and you become much happier. The best way is to keep silent. (Zehra)

My husband is very nervous, when he gets angry with something I never insist, I just walk out of the room when he shouts out. Whenever he is angry, I just walk away. So that he would not shout more and the issue shall not worsen. I have never been even slapped yet. If I confront him, I might even get beaten up. This is the way he is, there is nothing to do. One has to be quiet sometimes for male is nervous at all. Occasionally, I say something and he just gives a sign back to me. I just get what he means and drop the subject. (Rabia)

I was running out in order not to be beaten. May be they feel ashamed of the surrounds. They had no feel of shame, they used to beat though. I used to lock myself in the room and hide behind the curtain or under the bedstead. (Süreyya)

We can see the isolation also as a form of violence. In the instance of Süreyya among the participants, she had been scared by telling her that the neighbours that come to visit the house would also beat her up. It was perceived probable by Süreyya who had been beaten by almost everyone in the household to be beaten by also the neighbours. Süreyya, who had been afraid of being beaten up by the

neighbours who came to the house, tried to protect herself from the neighbours by hiding behind curtains, under beds and thus on the one hand becoming a source of amusement for the household and on the other hand being isolated from the surrounding.

Since I had all the time been beaten, I thought that the neighbours would also beat me. They were saying “Run!” and I was running and hiding. (Süreyya)

Though sometimes they question whether working outside would cease the violence, they decide not to after seeing those who work outside and still get beaten up. And this situation leads them to see violence much inescapable. The violence issue is being perceived fully as a twist of fate by claiming that one is being beaten whether she works or not.

My daughter's got a friend, a pre-school teacher. Everyday she comes to the classroom being beaten up. Her eyes get cyanosis everyday. May the god not put down to some bad person. May he have the fear of God. (Kıymet)

One of the participants, Münevver, like the other who steers the violence and suicide attempts towards themselves says that she does not try to escape, the beating she takes makes her forget the pain she has inside; it is as if she feels lighter somehow. The beating she takes gives her an excuse not to talk to her husband and stay away from him for a few days which seems almost like a holiday for her.

I don't run away when I am being beaten. He can beat me anywhere. When he is hurting me I feel something inside me is being released. It is like some kind of relaxation for me. After he has given me a beating I am allowed to go and sit elsewhere, I don't talk to him. Sometimes I can take a few days off like that. (Münevver)

One of the Ngo's has observed that the women have a tendency to self mutilate their arms with razor blades. They manifest their stress by replacing the pain they experience inside with another pain.

When the incompatibility of her own inner world and the role that she has been saddled with, the anger caused by all the injustices she has suffered, the feeling of insignificance given that she has no rights over her own body all come together the woman's anger becomes directed at herself.

In times which the violence is unbearable, it is also used as a tactic to shelter in the family home, but it is useless. As a necessity of male cooperation, the father may send her daughter back to the house of the husband

She might not even consider the paternal home as a solution with the knowledge that a girl will be unaccepted.

I stood my ground in spite of husband's injustices. I could not go back to my father's house, there was no place to go to. (Münevver)

There were also fights . Sometimes, I was getting crossed and going to the house of my father. He used to get angry, saying "why do you get crossed and come down here? Shall we take you back and give to another husband? This is your destiny. You are going to suffer it. He was sending me back. (Baran)

It seems not possible to argue that male cooperation functions all the time to the detriment of the women. In cases which the dose of the violence exceeds reasonable amount that come up as life-critical cases such as beating the woman for days by tying her up, a few men from the family of the woman might go to converse with the husband. In this conversation, the husband is reminded the about the legitimate conditions where he can resort to violence and reasonable dose of the violence. The spouse is reminded that he cannot use violence except the situations of the woman's

having an extramarital affair of the woman and submitting the resources of the household to other people.

In the last beat of mine, I had not given birth to my little daughter. I had been beaten. I had distention in my eye. My brothers saw it. They went to talk to my husband to ask him why he had beaten me. My brother told him that a woman is beaten when she is gone bad, when she gives away the goods of her home and that they would take their sister back. Then he felt frightened and didn't do anything again. (Kıymet)

Men are mostly that way, I sometimes turn a blind eye to it. Of course, when there are too many problems, when he neglects home I argue. When I cannot solve it, I have no choice but to tell my father-in-law. He advises his son, when need arises he resorts to him. (Suna)

One substantial source of violation comes up as the mother-in-law. Women, as a minority group, divert the violence to each other. The mother-in-law as finally began to live the feel of superiority which had been promised to her. She has the desire to measure her strength by diverting all her accumulated anger to her bride, since the only one whom she can exercise her power on is her. At the same time, since the bride is perceived as a common good of the family, the other members of the family are also entitled to us violence.

My mother-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, they all used to beat me, I had never deserved it. I've had no day without beating. They used to beat me, starve me. They never used to give tea for the world at all. (Süreyya)

There was no violence from my husband in the first year. My mother-in-law was sufficient. (Ayten)

I lived together with my mother-in-law for six or seven years. I was too much exposed to violence by my mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law and at the same time, my husband. My husband used to beat me too often, I used to be beaten almost every single night. And in the following morning, I used to be beaten by my mother-in-law. I've had a very major depression. I got sick in bed. It's so hard to tell. (Kıymet)

Mother-in-law's naming the children might be considered as a proof of enjoying the right of control on the children, a symbolical expression of the authority she actualizes.

My mother-in-law named my children. People used to say "woman like Atatürk" for her. For my father-in-law was the driver of the principal she gave the names of the principal's daughters to the children. (Ayten)

The woman's body has been purchased by the husband. I witnessed an incident once. There was a 16 year old girl heavily pregnant with very long and thick hair. It was clear she was very uncomfortable. I asked why she didn't cut her hair and her answer astounded me. Her mother-in-law wouldn't allow it. (Civil Servant, Elif)

The early marriage is also experienced as a loss of freedom when combined with economical dependency. The life of hers in the family home which she may be romanticising to a degree due to the oppression she faces in the house of husband, might be seen as an area of freedoms.

There's nothing like one's freedom. When you get married and do not have a job, you get carried away by your husband. You become obliged to do whatever he wants. You do not have a job, you depend on him. If you do have a job or something, you can do whatever you want and he can do whatever he would like to. You become equal. (Suna)

One was in the family home before marriage. Then, she used to be free. There is no angst of husband, there is no father-in-law. We used to go out with my mom and sisters. (Devlethan)

I was happier and freer when I was single. I was more relaxed. For instance when I do chores my mother did not force me. But here I am obliged. If I don't then they will comment. When you go somewhere you are obliged to adopt their customs and ways. Marriage is hard, you get married before you have experienced your childhood. (Rabia k.)

What one of the interviewees Rabia k. is actually pointing out when she says "Before I was married I my head was uncovered" that before marriage a girl exists in a sexless state, that is she can run around in the streets with her head unveiled and ride a bicycle but once she is married she is expected to behave like an adult woman. The fact that she is expected to cover her head symbolizes this situation.

Here they say that after marriage a girl is not a child any more but a woman. (Münevver)

The child is pinned the hopes on for the teflis of all the unlived emotions, obstructs and delays.

(When one gets married early) one loses things, loses freedom, misses life, gets obliged to care after the children. Despite having a young age, you grow up together with the children you gave birth to. Kind of feeling like "I'll make my daughter live what I couldn't, make her wear what I could not wear". Such as being educated, clothes, going out like hanging around with firends. (Suna)

I daydream when I am taking care of my child. I daydream when I dress my child. I shall send my child to school. He will come home and graduate. I always visualize this scene. I hope to God that it is meant to be. (Rabia k.)

The first night is lived as a night in which fear and shame gets mixed up.

My aunt advised me. Told me not to fear. She said things like ‘every girl getd frightened when she gets married’. I was extremely ashamed. (Suna)

After the first night, the bloody sheet is handed to the sister-in-law or to the aunt or to both as a certificate of the maidenhood. The shame of the first night is followed by the shame caused by the question “who will my sheet be shown to?”.

The sheet was handed. There were both my aunt and my sister-in-law. I felt ashamed since I did not know whom to take it to. (Suna)

A flag was put in front of the in the first night. They waited for sheet. I handed the sheet to my sister-in-law. It is a very brutal thing. It’s been done in order to have witnesses in case a denial or some other thing comes out some day. This is what the purpose is, you see, nothing else. I had already been ignorant. They asked for it, and I gave it. Zehra

All of my interviewees have at least one suicide attempt. The child brides who finally choses to divert the violation they have been subject to themselves are so sick of living as to wail to miss the chance of death.

A public servant has also noted that when women feel insignificant in all sectors of life, in time they start to feel insignificant themselves. (Civil servant, Zeynep)

The feeling of insignificance and not having the right to live opens the door to suicidal thoughts.

Van was a leader in suicides this year. There were many suicides in Van. (NGO, Narin)

The cord had wrapped around the child; it had been poisoned, died but they saved my life. I wish god hadn't saved my life, then it would be over. (Ayten)

I took pills in order to die, went into the lake. Blood came out of my mouth and nose but I did not die. I could not die in one way or another. It means I had to suffer all these. (Süreyya)

I consumed pesticide. I didn't die. I was taken to the hospital where my stomach was irrigated. (Münevver)

The inability to bear a male child is another factor cited as a factor in suicide. An incident which was under investigation was still fresh in the minds of the newborn unit nurses who were devastated by the incident. A woman who had given birth to her 10th daughter asked her family not to come to the hospital because she had had a girl and the indifference finally made her succumb to psychological and physical pressure and jump from the third floor of the maternity hospital. I believe the gravity of the situation is portrayed by the situation of the woman who is still in a coma.

Except violence related injuries, they might also live through trauma related memory loss, panic attack, depression major as to necessitate inpatient treatment in hospital.

I've had a very severe depression. Even the doctors here could not do anything. I was all the day long vomiting and not able to eat. I lost weight. I went to Ankara. I used medicines. (Kıymet)

It is too many times that I thought that I shall die. I tried twice. But then I regretted. (Selva)

As required by the importance attached to the privacy of the holiness attributed to family, the woman cannot share her domestic troubles. And this situation causes the woman to live through a sort of isolation state.

I've too much turned in on myself. I didn't tell anyone. That's why I went into depression. (Selva)

I did not tell my sorrow to anyone, therefore I got such ill. Nevertheless, noone shall think that my husband is a bad person. God keep him by me Kıymet

The advice given by the girl's family also make her keep things to herself and not tell anyone what is happening.

My mother told me not to tell anyone what my husband tells me. Don't tell anyone on the outside, she said. Nuriye

Since the husband is a central point in the woman's life, any disagreement seems like a disaster.

When you are disagreeable with your spouse you lose everything. You have left your family to join your husband. You are committed to him. You have expectations of him. I want to be happy with my husband nothing else is important for me. (Rabia k.)

Such as like diverting the violence to ownself by committing suicide, the person she blames regarding the things she has lived through is still herself . Only two interviewees see their families as responsible of the things they have been through. The others see themselves or the destiny as responsible.

It is myself whom I find most guilty regarding whatever happened to me. (Selva)

My father sold me when he went broke. I made tandouri. I picked up cowpat. Did housework. I got married at my age of playing games, at the age of twelve. I realized at the age of fifteen that there had been an unjustness. I never forgive my father. (Perihan)

The instance of Münevver among the participants is also worth mentioning since it is one of the most clear instances showing that the early marriage is a form of violence. Münevver was married off in exchange of her sister who did not come out maiden on the night she had got married. Which means, Münevver was married off by force with her sister's husband who had brought back her sister who had not come out to be a maiden. Münevver, whose nose was all the rubbed in the "crime" of her sister, has been thrown into all life long violence. Münevver's blaming her sister all the time as the person who had caused her to be exchanged might suggest an idea on how inclusive and mind-controlling the patriarchy is.

The young girl's being a meta to be subject to purchase and sale, to be exchanged manifests itself also in the language used. İstene alına verilen genç kızın hayatı bir Pazar mübadele dili içinden ifade bulmaktadır . The right to use on the girl is transferred totally to the house she went in as a bride by the time she is given and this situation is explained as " we asked for it and they gave her away, they should have considered before then". By the time she is given all her rights of use and right to live is transferred to the family into which she went as a bride. The life of the young girl has no further meaning further than a lively creature of which meat, milk, fertility, labor is made use of.

In case of an even minor argument, my husband says 'we wanted you, they gave us, nothing to do!' (Perihan)

Another striking instance except exchange is participant Nuriye's being given as a gift to her uncle's son at her age of 9. She was presented to the son of her uncle upon the statement of religious hodja as "engage your son, God adds lifetime to your son's for that girl's sake" to whom her uncle visited due to the deaths of his sons before the age of ten. We can hardly say that the word "present" hurts Nuriye. She draws out a positive conclusion over her value through the thought that "valuable things are given as gifts. I am also valuable that I have been presented." A married child who has slept together with her mother-in-law and played house inside marriage with her sister-in-law in the house to which she had been presented until the time she has menstruated, since the border of maturity is drawn by menstruating. The interesting point in the story of the husband who and wife who waits for growing old together with her child husband goes to school instead of work and to whom she does not speak even one word because of shame inside the same house is coming true of the prediction of the religious hodja and indeed the survival of the son of the uncle.

In addition to exchange and as gifts, marriage is also used in the form of a peace offering between families to resolve tensions, as a sacrifice to stop reciprocal anger and as an insurance against violence.

If a girl has been raped the parties negotiate an understanding. The rapist marries the girl. If the rapist has a sister she will be married to a male member of the raped girl's family. (Civil Servant, Elif)

Actually they are endeavoring to save lives by giving a girl to the other party in cases of blood feuds and kidnappings. The aim is not only to exchange money but purpose as well. I attended such a bride exchange wedding. The girl said that she was giving up on her life so that none of her family members would lose theirs. There is also a learned self-sacrifice. (NGO Z-1)

Sometimes a girl can be used instead of dowry by the girl's father who wishes to remarry.

The man has a wife. He sacrifices his daughter to get a second wife.
(NGO, Abidin)

Yesterday there was a woman at the refuge. She took care of her father after her mother died. Her father wants to remarry so he sells the daughter for a dowry of 3 billion to another man. (NGO,Z-1)

Women have internalized the fact that monogamy is a rule that applies only to women. Within this scope love is considered as a privilege of men.

A man may fall in love. I don't know. I don't care what he does outside the house as long as he takes care of the house, if he brings everything without failure, if he does not hurt us. Nobody can tie the hands and arms of a man. I don't question what he does outside. He can do what he wants. (Nuriye)

Participants who had not internalized the man's right to a polygamous lifestyle are hurt deeply by the excuse of love in which deters lack of support in reacting against infidelity. Those who are expected to provide support tell the woman that you are not the only one this happens to. The emotional violence the woman experience is doubled by people saying he is a man that is what a man does. When she realizes that she will lose her children in a divorce case she is engulfed in a desperation deep enough to make her cut her wrists in spite of being pregnant.

I collected everyone around me. I banged my fist and said I was getting a divorce. I turned the area into a pool of blood. I cut my wrists, the baby in my womb turned upside down, I could not walk for three days. Later I had premature delivery. (Sevgi)

Because of the security problem in the area, early marriage and the resulting exploitation remains a secondary concern. When the law enforcement feel a pressure by sympathizers of the “organization” to side with them, action against issues which are perceived to be private such as domestic violence, child abuse in early marriage are put off. Like an officer employed in the community policing department said, while it is the duty of law enforcement to gain the population onto their side it is a conflict of interest when trying to win over the local population to tell them at the same time how they should treat their wives and children, start legal process when necessary. It is evident that other women’s problems such as early marriage is considered less urgent than the security problem.

The same assessment is valid for the relevant legal procedures which cannot be incepted when an underage girl gives birth in a hospital. While law enforcement carry out their duties they are also obliged to observe the traditions and customs of the region which means that there is a tendency to view child exploitation as a custom of the region. It seems that early marriage, which means child exploitation in the widest sense has remained in the shadow of combating terrorism and will not be on the agenda of law enforcement forces.

The security problem in the region also causes distrust between agencies. In the light of the information provided by the civil servant employed in the community policing department the law enforcement agencies are more likely to inform the family of a woman who has made a complaint about violence or some other kind of abuse than steer her to a women’s shelter. There are strong concerns that the woman who has been admitted into a women’s shelter will be released from the shelter in a couple of months jobless and with no place to go which makes her a potential member for the terror organization. Cooperation with women’s organizations is hindered by similar concerns. It is considered a possibility that sympathizers of the organization may infiltrate women’s organizations and “snare” the victimized women there, and thus the home has been considered to be a safe area for women. The home which in fact is the very place where the woman suffers physical and psychological violence on a daily basis.

The observation of a non-governmental organization volunteer mainly dealing with human rights issues is as follows: “the festivities of youth dancing around a bonfire is dispersed by security forces for security reasons while nobody interferes when underage children are being married with a flourish of trumpets in the background and a crime is being committed every week.” Ngo mehmet

Early marriage cannot be differentiated from migration. Enforced migration into urban areas for security reasons takes place. (guidance teacher, sema) As a result 60% of the population of Van are migrants from rural areas. People who were producers in their villagers are now consumers in the city and thus impoverished even further. (civil servant yasemin-ngo narin).

After the 90’s all province received migrants. Van also received plenty of migrants. They settle in the most frugal neighborhoods. They are distanced from education, from everything. Migrants settle there, it is more convenient. They cannot settle in central areas. The price of land and rents are very high. (NGO, Narin)

As the family becomes poorer they girl child who is considered to be a visitor anyway is found to be the most easily dispensable factor. (civil servant, murat)

A public officer underlined that the security issue can also be linked to the desire of families to marry off their girl children while they are still virgins and to avoid having a daughter who has lost her virginity,

One reason why the families do not want to be responsible for the honor of their daughters for extended periods of time is that the women in the region are consciously harassed and violated by army and gendarmerie security forces and village guards. The families marry off their daughters to protect their daughters and avoid any embarrassing and defamatory situations. (Civil Servant, Ceyhan)

Another factor which prevents abused women from getting help from public organizations is the fact those working in these public organizations are members of influential clans in the region. In order to keep out of trouble and avoid a conflict between clans the responsible officer may prefer to implement clan law rather than legal procedure.

Let's say there is a local social services director from clan A and a woman from clan B who has been inflicted with violence came. The social services director will not want to get into any trouble so he calls the families and reconciles them. There are families who find out the address of a women's shelter from their relative working in social services and go and collect the woman. (NGO, Z-2)

8.3. Child mothers: “I couldn't stand the lack of sleep, I fell asleep many times while breastfeeding and dropped the baby from my lap”

Although the full responsibility of caring for a child, any decision making including giving the child a name seems to rest with the father.

The responsibility of children is with the mother here, the man gets up in the morning and either goes to work or the coffeehouse. The mother is always striving. When something happens the man takes all the credit for the children. (NGO, Narin)

The fact that the fathers name the children is not always perceived as a negative feature by women. Sometimes it is perceived to be an indicator of acceptance of the child by the man and is accepted with joy.

The child was named by his father; it means that their father loves them very much. That is how it was for me. I said to myself he loves his children very much and does not want to leave them with anyone. (Saadet)

The children were all named by their father; I didn't get involved at all. (Baran)

I didn't name the children. They did. They were named after my husband's uncles. They had a beloved uncle who died. (Zehra)

I wanted to name my child Tuğba but I was afraid I could not say it. Some acquaintances of my mother in law were visiting, there were guests in the house. I asked them in confidence. I asked them to say that please name the child Tuğba. And they did. (Kıymet)

The fact that divorce is unacceptable to the community is one of the reasons that the divorce rate in the region is significantly below the overall average in Turkey; the fact that in case of divorce the custody of children is given to the father also has an impact.

A woman who wants a divorce is told "leave your children and go, did you bring them from your father's house" and custody of the children is used to blackmail the woman into all sorts of abuse.

If I left these children would be left in the hands of this man. Once I tried to leave. He tried to burn the house. Daring me to go. He will surely kill one of my children. (Münevver)

In assessing the reason of the man claiming custody of the children in addition to the function of persuading the woman to accept the existing conditions a link to what the child means can also be established. Particularly male children are seen as a value enhancing the power of the family. The security problem in the region has prevented the legal system implemented by the central government from internalizing which has necessitated the establishment of justice and security mechanisms in the region by the people. Having a populous and strong family

appears to be an important condition for security. In order for this to materialize the family must have as many male children as possible. It can be assessed as a step toward this purpose that girls are married off as soon as they start to menstruate so they can start bearing children. It is functional to marry off young girls in order to extend the reproductive cycle. “A woman is obliged to bear children until the man does want any anymore. The more children a man has the more powerful he feels. Here only male children are taken into consideration.” civil servant elif

I link this desire for numerous children with clannishness. A man does not want to be known as childless. (NGO, Narin)

Here the more sons you have the more powerful you are. (Obstetrician)

As put forth by the example “once you start to menstruate every bite you eat in your father’s house is” this attitude is also supported by aphorisms with religious associations.

When a woman asks her father for support in the event of a possible divorce, the answer given by the father is the same as the husband’s. What the father will say to the woman who wants a divorce is “if you can’t stand it then leave your children and come” and because the woman cannot leave her children the divorce becomes impossible.

Since the women are ignorant regarding the pregnancy and birth process they are also unable to assess the messages their bodies are giving. Because of the effort they spend on their domestic responsibilities during pregnancy child development may be retarded and because the baby is small in size the labor pains may be weak which together with the young girl’s ignorance regarding reproductive health will make her think that she has a cold or has gas pains.

At this point it must be emphasized that the woman has the least fault in being ignorant regarding the reproductive process. It is futile to expect that someone who

has yet to familiarize herself with her own body will be able to bear the complex and difficult process of pregnancy. It is only natural that a person who has been deprived of education and access to sources of information evaluates her experiences within the standards of her own limited observations.

She was born when she was 7 months along it was quite difficult. I don't know much about labor pains. When we went to the hospital I thought I had taken a chill. But I was in labor. I was taken to the delivery room. It was going to be a premature birth I didn't know. I told my husband I was sick. She was born and didn't make a sound for two months later she developed. (Suna)

Perhaps the most traumatic pregnancy process was experienced by 12 year old Süreyya who was married off before she had breasts; when Süreyya's stomach started to grow and the baby started to move inside her, Süreyya's childlike imagination made her believe that a snake had entered her body. This situation can be summarized as a painful example of childhood pregnancy.

Ignorance regarding reproductive health does not always end in bittersweet results such as premature birth; sometimes it ends bitterly with the loss of a child. It is as if the firstborn's life is destined to be a victim of ineptitude which will provide the mother with knowledge about reproductive health.

I fell pregnant with the second one before the first one was a year old. It died I didn't go to a doctor. When you don't go to a doctor you don't know. It was a mistake that's why it happened. (Suna)

I fell pregnant a year after I got married. It died. I was washing carpets. I guess I got a chill, I didn't have any pains. For two days I saw water. Apparently the baby's water had gone. We were late. The child had been left dry. We went to the hospital. They tried to revive the child. They said that the child would be an invalid if it survived. The child's brain had received no oxygen. (Selva)

Suna, one of the interviewees whose second child was stillborn expressed her ignorance about reproductive health by not being able to comprehend her desire to eat know as the sign of a problem as given below.

Pregnant women want to eat many things, I wanted to eat snow. I desired snow. Some eat earth, some eat snow. Some eat everything.
(Suna)

Since women are not economically independent whether or not they get to go to a doctor is dependent upon the husband. The pregnancy can be considered a non-medical process and visiting a doctor is simply not considered.

I didn't go to a doctor during any of my pregnancies. It never entered my mind. Maybe I couldn't find the time or maybe I didn't want to go. I don't know. I always gave birth at home. (Selva)

They can't speak for themselves. We have patients who are here for their 20th labor. We tell them to use protection but they will say I have to ask my husband. For instance the baby's feet are introverted, it has developed properly and we ask her why she never came to the hospital. When we ask were there no doctors, nurses available she says nobody took me to a physician. The patients are ignorant. She can't tell her family to take her to a doctor. (Postnatal Department Nurse)

Another reason for the wary approach regarding birth control is the distrust felt towards public agencies. The fear that the state wants to sterilize us has made people cautious about birth control.

This fear is accompanied by another fear that people are tortured in hospital, hurt and reprimanded. Hospital personnel complain about being considered as people who scold and behave badly. The irony of the situation is that while these issues

were being mentioned a woman was being scolded for not knowing Turkish and being unable to understand what she was being told.

I fear of violating one's sense of privacy is also a deterring factor in going to a hospital. Worries that at the hospital they will apply an overzealous examination, open private parts and examine too much are also factors which make a home birth preferable.

It's better to have birth at home, if the baby comes it will come on its own. Midwives kill you. At the hospital they look at your vagina too much. They interfere too much and it hurts even more. We were embarrassed we didn't want to be looked at. They got angry at our modesty. (Devlethan)

I now wonder how I was able to look after the child, I was so small and weak. (Suna)

Women either have no knowledge whatsoever or have very limited secondhand information about the wedding night. A brother's wife or sister-in-law talking to the new bride in order to calm her down sometimes increases her fears. The person trying to be helpful can only use their own experiences. That is why those talking to the bride cannot be considered a reliable source of information. If their experiences were negative then that is what they will transfer.

I didn't know how a child was created before I got married. Some people give you a fright (regarding wedding night) one of my brother's wives really scared me. She said it is difficult and this and that and scared me. (Gül)

Now if I said I didn't know that would be lying (regarding wedding night), if I said I knew that too would be a lie. I had heard some things. After getting married I was obliged to find out. (Mother-in-Law)

I heard secondhand information while I was listening to some people who were talking about wedding night. (Selva)

I knew nothing about the wedding night. The best man's wife talked to me, she said don't be afraid. When he approaches you let him so that it is established whether or not you are a virgin. If you avoid him it can be misunderstood. (Rabia k.)

For 4 months after I got married I stayed away from my husband. We slept next to each other like siblings, I couldn't consummate the marriage. I was so scared. I kept hearing horrible things about the wedding night. He didn't force me. He said I had to be willing. (Rabia)

If the first sexual experience at an early age is rape then avoiding sex may become a chronic condition.

I didn't know what sexual relations were when I first got married. The consummation was executed forcefully. It still is. He wants it every night, he wants the same things every night, it seems like torture to me. I am always afraid. I am still afraid of men. (Kıymet)

They live through this experience with either very superficial or insinuating warnings which are far from enlightening and increase the fears of the young girl even further.

My uncle's bride got married before I did. She mentioned something like don't clench yourself relax. I was scared. After it was over I sat and cried a lot. Apparently I had stressed myself because of my fear, once I cried I relaxed. (Fadime)

Two interviewees spoke about the wedding night beating. It is possible to link the beating of the girl on the wedding night to the fear of women that the man has. What is in front of the man is actually a young child with no sexual experience but sexuality and the fear of woman in the man are materialized in the girl and thus she becomes an object of violence. This application may also have functions such as breaking the resistance of the woman, showing her who is the boss and establishing the relationship of oppressor oppressed from the very beginning.

He entered the room and started beating me. He covered my mouth then he raped me. I was very young. I bled a lot. I was very frightened. I cried for my mother. I still have that pain inside. (Süreyya)

In the old days the husband would beat the wife on the first night. If he didn't he was not considered a man. It was the custom then to beat the wife, not with a stick but by slapping. (Nuriye)

The women who come here say that on the first night they received a beating from their husbands. They narrate that they were forced to have children. (Postnatal Department Nurse)

Süreyya is now 46 years of age and has lived with this pain for 34 years. .. She will learn to read and write and try to still the pain remaining inside by writing a book. Actually there is nothing else to remember outside the pain. The countless numbers of suicide attempts did not release her, there are only the weights which entangle her feet and drag her life around. Because of the traumas Süreyya has experienced she has momentary memory losses. She has completely lost her sense of time.

Only one of interviewees expressed forceful sexual relations by the husband as rape.

When a person is still a child and cannot meet the expectations that the husband has of a wife, violence and rape are unavoidable. However, very few women are aware of this. They assume that once

married you are obliged to fulfill your husband's demands. It is considered that he has a right to forcible intercourse. The woman does not share this with anybody because it is considered very embarrassing for a woman. (Civil Servant, Zeynep)

Women who do not get pregnant during the first years of marriage have a fear of a second wife and being dismissed. While they are under such pressure they become pregnant and bear their children and cannot experience those emotions because of the pressure.

For four years I was tyrannized because I didn't get pregnant. Because of the pressure I couldn't even rejoice when I had a child (Ayten)

We were very involved in the test tube baby application. It is very bad not to have a child. I would always hear people say things. She is barren at least the husband should marry. (Zehra)

Women witness that the husband and the husband's family behavior towards the children is discriminatory. Since a male child provides status for the woman, a woman may desire to have a male child. A male child is functional in order to ensure one's own position and get reverential treatment.

It's a boy which is good. They like boys better here. After the birth I have received better treatment, love and respect. If it were a girl it would not be so much. (Zehra)

I love girls more. But here everybody loves boys. Kurdish people are like that, they want boys. My father-in-law is overjoyed that I had a boy. (Devlethan)

On the other hand girls are preferred for closeness. In addition, girls are not completely dismissed because it is believed that they will be loyal and provide care services in old age. From this aspect it is correct to say that women want a girl for company and a boy to secure their social position.

I have one daughter, her father says that I will build a house in the back and she and her husband can live there and she can take care of my in the future. He does not want her to go far. (Devlethan)

While it is expected that girls provide care in later years it is also believed that when the boy get married he will be influenced by his wife and thus will be disabled from showing sufficient loyalty.

After a man sees his wife he forgets about his mother. (Devlethan)

In total I have three children, one girl and two boys, I wish they were all girls; girls are more partial to their mothers. (Fadime)

A girl is more understanding, you can talk and stuff. Like a friend. In the end, a boy is a man. I can't really talk to a man and say stuff like your grandmother did this to me and I got so sick. No he will say my grandmother is a good person. I can talk to my daughter. (Kıymet)

Kurdish people like boys not girls. When it is a boy they are tenderer more loving. They are happier when it is a boy. My first child was a girl. Since it was the first child they were happy. When my second child was a girl they were not happy. The baby died. After that I had boys in sequence. (Gül)

When it is a boy the grandfathers and the like are more interested, you understand that there is a difference between a boy and a girl (Selva)

There are also other reactions in addition to low key joy when a girl is born and jumping for joy when it is a boy. A husband may consider a lie-in period after a girl child unnecessary. In addition, discrimination may even lead to leaving the child to die, and not helping the mother in caring for the child also displays how worthless a girl child's life is considered.

I cleaned the cow barn then it came. They had stuck a scarf into the baby's mouth, turned her upside down so she would die because she is a girl. (Süreyya)

When my daughter was born he made me get up the same day. They didn't let me have a lie-in. When I bore a son he went to fetch a crib. Everyone in the village treated me better because I had borne a son. Süreyya

Birth control is taught by the nurses visiting from the maternity hospital.

I used a medicine provided by the maternity hospital. At first nobody said anything; the maternity hospital is very far. Nurses from the maternity hospital were visiting. They asked questions like how many children do you want, do you want medicine? If it were up to their father they would now be 12 siblings. (Ayten)

Child mother usually realize they are mothers after the 3rd child. The previous children are like the continuation of the dolls they used to play with.

I miss playing games very much. When we went to school we used to make dolls all the time. I had a baby, now I dress the baby as I used to dress the dolls. Now I feel I am dressing my child. When I first took the baby in my arms I felt strange, it's weird when you a child yourself and they put a child in your arms. (Fadime)

I got married at the age of 12. At 13 I had a child in my lap. You are a child playing with children. (Süreyya)

I was a child, what I experienced, my childhood feelings are all intermingled, my life passes by like a dream and I cannot express myself. (Münevver)

They live through a process without realizing what motherhood is. Later on it gains meaning with care services. Emotions for the child are expressed by the effort taken.

I didn't know what motherhood was. But now motherhood means taking care of one's child, protecting him, feed him with your milk. Motherhood is fussing ... (Mother-in-Law)

With the first baby I didn't feel much. I was young. I don't remember much. That is why I am raising this third one with such devotion. (Rabia)

On top of not being able to feel or put a name on existing emotions, personnel working the maternity service of the hospital report situations such as inability to tolerate the pain during birth, fearing the child, shouting things like throw the child away which are due to the impact of the pain.

When I had my first child I didn't want him because of the pain I had felt, I pushed him away. (Sevgi)

I was afraid to hold the baby at first. I didn't know babies smiled. When my daughter smiled at the age of 3 months I was frightened. (Süreyya)

Having a baby was like child's play to me. When my child called me mother for the first time I felt weird. Really weird. (Münevver)

I live with my mother-in-law, I did what people told me to do. When someone said take it I took it. Whatever my sister-in-law told me to get I got for the child. Now I choose myself. I didn't understand much when my daughter was small, I was young myself. The boy arrived after her. My son was born when my daughter was eight months old. Two babies at the same time is too much, I didn't understand anything. The last one I wanted very much so I take more care with everything. (Rabia)

Because of the work load, pressure and violence the growing up process of the children is experienced like a dream, a faded memory.

I am amazed at myself when I think how I raised these children. Sometimes I think about how they grew up, how they were born. (Fadime)

I don't remember at all how four of my children grew up. Now I think about how I raised them. I don't remember when they were born. I guess I was so exhausted, that's what happened. I had a problematic period, constant uneasiness. (Selva)

The only problem is not just the unawareness of young age; having a heavy workload can prevent the young mother from providing her child with the necessary child care.

I was losing weight from running around from morning to night and my milk didn't come. In a crowded it is hard to care for a baby. I didn't know how to make the baby burp. They told me but I didn't have the opportunity to do it. The baby was always at the hospital until it was 11 months old. The baby cried constantly because of gas. I would breastfeed the baby, put it in its cot and run off to other jobs. I would tell the children to rock the baby while I rush to work. It was either the heater, making bread, laundry. (Devlethan)

I couldn't stand the lack of sleep, I fell asleep many times while breastfeeding and dropped the baby from my lap. He was sick all the time. I could not understand his language. (Sevgi)

With my first child I felt nothing. With my last child I feel I am a mother. I couldn't take care of my children. They would wake and go to sleep the way they were. I had so much work to do I couldn't breastfeed; I couldn't even change their diapers. I could not pick them and cuddle them. There was no time for cuddling. If I had time I could change their diapers. With my last child I felt I was a mother. I am 29 years of age. I felt very good things. (Kıymet)

Being a mother is a beautiful feeling, of course you have to be at an age when you can appreciate it, and with my last child I understood what motherhood meant. It feels different with the last child. There is a lot of difference. I don't know how I raised my 4 children, didn't understand anything. I couldn't spare them any time. Living together also has an impact, there are guests all the time, you have worked to do, you don't have time spend with your child, and there is such thing. (Selva)

Even when the young girl is shown how to breastfeed and how to change a diaper, because of her young age she does not always quite understand. Also she is unable to efficiently apply what she has learnt because of underdeveloped manual skills.

I have been shown how to breastfeed but I can't manage it. I become absorbed in work and I forget to change the baby's diaper. The baby

was filling its diaper. I only realized that I needed to change the diaper when I felt the child's wet bottom. I attribute all this to age. (Sevgi)

The first child is usually experienced without awareness like some kind of unconsciousness, in progressive years the pregnancies give meaning to motherhood. The quality of care provided by the mother to the child improves. But at this point pangs of remorse also step in. The woman feels remorse because she could provide the same quality care service and attention to her firstborns and thus feels that she has wronged them in some way. So at no point is motherhood lived as a process which is a vessel for her strengthening.

With my last child I realized what motherhood was and as such I became more attached to my first child because I could not provide that child with this care. (Süreyya)

Sometimes the mother-in-law has an influence on experiencing remorse.

My son is very jealous of my last child. Not only is the child, my mother-in-law also jealous. She accuses me of preferential treatment to this one. This one has a time for everything. Why didn't you treat your other children like this, why this one. (Rabia)

Having a child is a factor which diminishes the longing the woman has for her family.

After I had a child I don't miss my family so much any more. Before when I used to sit like this I would think of my mother. I would think of my siblings. I thought I was going crazy, my psychological situation was quite poor. I missed them so much I didn't know what to do. After I had my child I don't miss them so much any more. (Rabia k.)

We can consider the citation below to express the expectation that a child is expected to provide intimacy. A woman hopes to have friendship, a close relationship and the approval of her child.

Getting married young is good; at least your children catch up with you. You can be friends later on. Imagine if I married at 30 and had a child at 35. How is my child going to catch up with me and reach my age? It is good to be friends with one's child. (Rabia)

Being forced to have children is an issue which is pointed out by the doctors at the maternity hospital.

The obstetrician interviewee expressed that if the woman was unwilling about the pregnancy, if she felt that she wanted the baby to die or abort then she would not spend the energy needed for the baby and its health could be endangered.(obstetrician, male)

I wanted the first child. The rest were borne crying and miserable unwanted. Now I thank God I look at them and wonder did I really bear them. (Kıymet)

The first child was wanted. The others were accidental; I guess they had a life to live on earth. (Devlethan)

Some of the risks related to pregnancy at an early age are for instance the underdevelopment of the pelvis which brings with it the threat of premature delivery. The rate of caesarian sections is high. Also the birth weight of the babies is rather low. Since the mother is child herself she is unable to realize her situation and because she does not know what kind of nutrition she needs the baby has a low birth weight. Another drawback of starting to give many births at an early age is the

prolapse of the pelvic floor, prolapse of the uterus, prolapse of the bladder and large bowel. (obstetrician)

At the moment most of the people in the region experience urinary incontinence when coughing and sneezing. The reason for that are multiple pregnancies starting at an early age. (Obstetrician)

Some other issues related to childhood pregnancy is the inability of the child to withstand the pain of childbirth, refusing to listen to suggestions, not wanting the baby as a result of the severe pain.

She is frightened because she is a child, her perception is delayed. She does not understand the training we are providing because she is young. The training is not useful. She refuses to embrace the baby. She lacks feelings for the baby. Because her maternal feelings have not developed and aggravated by the pain she says things like throw the baby in the garbage. We hear young mothers say things like I didn't want this, this was forced upon me. (Delivery room nurse)

When they get to the postnatal department and the pain is over they don't say throw the baby in the garbage anymore. (Postnatal Department Nurse)

When they are going through the labor pains they behave like children which they are. They do not listen to us. They scream save me. They cannot think rationally. She is unable to think calmly because she is young. Even if we explain the situation to her she is unable to understand. She is in pain and unable to help us. She is out of control. She does not realize the situation. (Delivery Room Nurse)

A discovery about increased hospital births was mentioned. Particularly husbands want to receive birth certificates in order to apply for aid, while the girls prefer home

births because they fear the hospital or they believe that their privacy will be violated in hospital.

It goes without saying that the distributed aids are seized by the husbands.

Girl students receive education funds. Child support is distributed to women who wait in a queue. The man waits at the door of the post office or bank and takes the money from the woman. (NGO, Narin)

Since girls attend school and socialize less their ability to speak Turkish is limited. This also affects the quality of the service they receive at the hospital.

The majority of the women in Van can express themselves best in their mother tongue which is why they are unable to resolve problems at public agencies (hospital or guardian at school). (Public Servant, Yasemin)

The language problem is an issue which contributes to child mothers getting insufficient service at hospitals and it also places the health personnel in a difficult position. Endeavoring to provide service to a woman who does not understand Turkish through an amateur interpreter in Kurdish and Turkish is only a waste of time.

Trying to provide care to a child mother who has just given birth in a language she does not understand or with the help of an amateur interpreter is asking her to do something that she will not be able to do anyway in a language she does not know. The impossibility of the situation is aggravated by the fatigue syndrome of the personnel.

If explained in Turkish she will understand half of what is said. She says yes yes and leaves. If one is unable to transfer facts in the language of the listener then it cannot be expected that they

understand. No matter what is told to an illiterate person she will have her own ideas and dream world and will not listen. We find someone to interpret. The interpreter interprets but the answers I receive are irrelevant which means that the interpreter is not interpreting correctly. Maybe the interpreter could not understand. We have a hectic workload here. The interpretation extends the work time. It takes time. (Obstetrician)

The disadvantages of unwanted pregnancies at a young age are mentioned as follows.

Because the children are married off very young their bodies have not fully developed physically. Their bodies become deformed. The personalities of these individuals develop and it is quite likely that they suffer some kind of personality disorder in the future and these individuals raise new individuals for the community. Probably raise is the wrong word, they more likely just breed them. (Public Servant, Elif)

The legal procedures which should be incepted when a minor arrives at the hospital to give birth are hindered by numerous obstacles. First of all the doctor at the hospital where an adolescent has arrived to give birth must inform the hospital police and depending on the residence of the pregnant child the relevant police station is notified. After this point without consideration whether the child has been wed with a religious ceremony or not, procedures against the family and culprit should be started but at this point the family will say that “actually our child is not so young, her identification card was issued later” after which there is a tendency to accept this statement and ignore the situation.

A family arrives. The age on her identification card is not correct. It is more than her actual age. In applying the law, we are obliged to take the customs and traditions of the region into consideration. (Police station, officer)

On the other hand it is a reality that there is a general discrepancy between real age and the age on the identification card. Based on observations made by the NGO's the discrepancy between the real age and the age on the identification card does not stem from registering the child at an early age but from increasing her age for marriage purposes or the child is given the identity card of an older deceased sister.

The situation of the children committed into early marriage is similar to the situation of child laborers working in coal mines. There is no real difference between the two. In fact the load on the backs of those married at an early age is heavier. (NGO, Mehmet)

The only problem with early marriage is not just early ageing.

Children who get married at an early age are obliged to do heavy labor which makes them get sick easily. Usually they have problems with their kidneys and lungs. (NGO, Abidin)

The domestic work is so overwhelming and has fatigued the child to the point that spending just a few hours more at the hospital after childbirth seems like a bonus.

They do not want to go home and work. Some of them throw themselves all over the place and faint. The jaws of some get locked. (Postnatal Department Nurse)

8.4. Child Labour: "It is so crowded! I'm so rushed off my feet I can barely drink some water all day."

Early marriage brings the abuse of child labor with it. The child bride is given more work than a child can manage; the situation is aggravated by childbirth. The labor of many is exploited in marriage. This is not a particularity of child brides. However, since children are in a special category of their own with special needs regarding

education, nutrition and play, the exploitation of child labor is more serious than other forms of exploitation.

In early marriage the child is expected to perform like an adult

When I can't do the work I get an earful. You are a new bride you are supposed to do everything, know everything. You are obliged to produce good work. I struggled. (Fadime)

Once a child gets married childhood is considered to be over. After the family has forsaken the child the family no longer feels any responsibility for the child with the new family. The child is expected to perform like an adult. She is expected to produce adult work results as if ownership of a slave had been transacted.

I had to carry water from outside. I was not strong enough. They were cross with me because I wasn't able to carry the water. They shouldn't have taken me then, they expected me to do everything. (Perihan)

Most of the time it is expected that the child bride does the housework and holds her responsibilities towards her in-laws superior to the responsibilities of her own motherhood. Sometimes the situation may reach a point when the child bride has no time even to breastfeed her own child.

We had a lot of work in the village because the village never sleeps. Two or three hours sleep is all you get in the village. There was work until midnight. I baked bread every day and worked. (Navi)

After getting married we worked and grew tired, we were not happy. (Saadet)

We were a crowded family; there was no time to rest because many people came to visit. (Fadime)

The work load grows heavier with the children.

After the child was born there was even more work. Nobody helped. My husband didn't appreciate me at all. Lately he asked for me to give my blessing which I did. (Baran)

Everything got worse after the children, nobody helped. I went from bad to worse. I struggled. (Ayten)

After the child was born the work in the house became even more. One piece of work became ten. It's hard to do laundry by hand. For daily living instead of one bread you get two. It depends on the number of children. Now 10-15 breads are not enough for us. (Gül)

After the children were born my workload got heavier. I was a child when I had a child. I was responsible for my husband, my mother-in-law, my brother-in-law and all the guests who came to the house. Everything became more difficult. (Kıymet)

Getting away from the mother-in-law does not always bring release from the domestic responsibilities of a large family. In the example of Ayten, her responsibilities as unpaid labor for the family continue.

After we moved to a separate house I would walk to my mother-in-law's house and do all the housework and return home in the evening. There no such thing as getting away from the mother-in-law's housework just because you leave the house. (Ayten)

My house was separate from theirs but still they would come over and interfere. We lived with the in-laws for six months, then we moved to our own house. Still, we lived near each other, when there was work to do they would call us. Come and do this they would say and I was obliged to go. If you don't then they will comment. They would tell me to come and do their work, I couldn't go anywhere without their permission. (Fadime)

Actually the mother-in-law is also inflicted with all sorts of oppression during her life. She submits to these inflictions with the promise that she will be comfortable once she is a mother-in-law. When the bride arrives she has great expectations of her. The small girl, on the other hand experiences waves of shock. She has been wrenched suddenly from childhood to become free labor to her husband and his family.

I had been a bride for two or three days. My mother-in-law was arguing with me. I had never been in an argument before. I asked my sister-in-law why my mother-in-law was behaving like this. She said it was because I was not cooking. I said that I didn't know how to cook. That day I went into the kitchen out of fear. I don't know how I did it but I cooked and cleaned. I took care of the cow. I milked the cow. I did all the work so my mother-in-law wouldn't have to get up and become angry. (Kıymet)

Since the child brides are saddled with more work than they can handle, they also need to deal with feelings of inadequacy.

I went to work in the fields. I herded the animals. I did everything. Still it was not appreciated. (Ayten)

Even when she is overwhelmed by such a heavy workload she is embarrassed to ask her husband for money for personal needs because she does not think of herself as really working. In order to provide for her children better and to have some money of

her own and being able to buy her own personal needs like sanitary napkins without having to face the embarrassment of asking her husband for money the woman will express the desire to work outside the home which are suppressed with outbursts such as “are you going to bring shame on me” and as she grows older this desire is completely extinguished.

I wanted to work so we would have enough money. I wanted to provide better for my children, now all my dreams are gone, I am too old. (Mother-in-law)

If I wanted to work and my husband allowed it the environs (friends, neighbors, family) would not allow it. They would look down upon us. My husband would hear this and be uncomfortable. (Sevgi)

In order not to embarrass the family some women prefer to make handiworks such as lace and washcloths at home and sell them.

I produce and sell lace. The money I earn is mine to do as I wish, no one interferes. (Suna)

Because working outside the home is not widespread, the primary censoring of the working woman and her husband to be applied by the community is primarily done by themselves. The honor of a woman working outside the home becoming questionable is perceived as an unaffordable hazard. In addition, by working outside or wanting to do so they are afraid of undermining the position of the breadwinner and humiliating him. They are aware that if they work outside the home and injure the man’s pride this may bounce back as violence.

Nobody was working outside the home. We never saw such a thing. I am against girls working. They will get a bad name. Their honors should not become vilified like that. (Nuriye)

I never worked outside the home. I would not want to, a woman working outside the home is disapproved of here. They feel it is beneath them. The men think that they are inadequate if their wife works. It is considered to be a man's job to provide for the home. You cannot ask for money to buy underwear and sanitary napkins. If you had a job you would have money of your own, you could buy what you want. (Zehra)

I wanted to have a job. My husband did not allow it. I didn't insist. (Rabia)

Even if the woman has a job she might not have the right to use it.

I used to sew and send the product to Istanbul. Even if it my own money I still ask when I want to use some. (Rabia)

A woman does not see herself as working when she does domestic labor so she does not feel that she might be entitled to a monetary return. She feels like a beggar when she asks for money so opts to live without money so in addition to the economic violence she experiences is added to by the emotional violence.

I am embarrassed to ask my husband for money. I feel like a beggar. I wish very much that I had a job and earned by own money. (Devlethan)

By not allowing the woman to produce something at home and sell it or work outside the home serves the purpose of maintaining control over the woman. It is not desired

that a woman gets a taste of earning her own money by the products she generates at home and sells; a woman might get a taste of freedom and gain self confidence. The woman is embarrassed to ask for money because in spite of its intensity she does not consider domestic work to be a real job and perceives herself as a beggar. The reason behind her desire to earn her own money is ridding herself of the beggar psychology.

I sold the washcloths that I made without my husband's permission. If he knew, he would have said if you need money ask me. When it's your own money it's easier to spend. How do they say, when it hasn't been earned it does not seem so nice. (Rabia k.)

They have small activities which they squeeze into this work load and oppression.

I attended a needlecraft course, I left the children with my sister-in-law, and they said some comments. That I left the children, I did not care. I attended the course and received my certificate. (Münevver)

Like a driver's license. Obtaining a driver's license is like a small piece of freedom stolen from life. It is a step which increases the strength to withstand violence and poor conditions. It is as if they are decorating their cages. It is a very limited freedom within all this freedom for the woman to tour the neighborhood in a car with the husband's permission. It is a longing for freedom which is formed over consumption rather than a liberation, a new life horizon. A driver's license is also a sign of rebellion. Something in the vein of I enjoyed the possibility of getting away from you.

I achieved an elementary school diploma externally in order to be able to get a driver's license. I am a resolved person. (Kıymet)

I am illiterate but I attended the course in order to get a certificate, they came to the door and asked us to attend the course. I am going to get a driver's license. (Selva)

I am still young, with God's permission I am going to study; maybe I'll get a driver's license or something. (Devlethan)

I attended a driving course and got a license. Women like getting driver's licenses. They think it is a freedom which makes it pleasant for them. However, men do not like it. The husband of a driving woman is less than a man. They think that if he was a man she would not have to go and get a driver's license. (Sevgi)

Pregnancy is not sufficient to put the heavy domestic work load and exploitation of labor on hold.

I was heavily pregnant, I am about to give birth any day and I am still working, working in the garden, shepherding the animals. I carried bales of straw on my back when I was pregnant. I did it just so they wouldn't argue with me. (Kıymet)

When asked what would you have wanted to be if you had an education, the answers they give are professions which are compatible with gender roles. They answer with professions such as nursing, teaching. Sometimes, as an effort to struggle with the feeling of injustice they can add professions such as police and lawyer.

If I had had an education my dream was to become a lawyer. Nobody learned to read and write in my time. (Kıymet)

If I had studied I would have become a teacher for sure. (Selva)

I wish I had studied and become a nurse. (Devlethan)

I would have liked to become a lawyer. I would have defended the rights of those like me. (Süreyya)

If I had been educated I would have wanted to become a police officer. When I see a female police officer I see a woman who can defend herself. Police officers can arrest men. (Münevver)

If I had studied I would have become a lawyer and fought against injustice. (Rabia k.)

The work load is so overwhelming that in some cases when a second wife arrives the first wife is glad because her workload will decrease. Devlethan tells how the first wife in the house that she went as second wife to meet her fifth gladness, it was as if she was saying that being crushed under a workload for 24 hours was a bigger disaster than being replaced by a second wife.

I had 6 step children. I had a child every year. It was so crowded and I struggled from morning to night, I barely had time to drink water. (Devlethan)

The dimension of the physical scars left by the workload is painful. The woman realizes that she is ageing early and she has no option but to resent her fate.

If you saw my wedding pictures you wouldn't recognize me. Did I look like this? I was like a doll. I had spots on my face. I was so young. You cannot even see me in the pictures I was so small (Devlethan)

They gave me very much work. They sent me to the sugar beet field where I worked from dawn to dusk thirsty and hungry. Don't come back before you finish they said to me. I hoed the field. Get up, do this do that, clean the sheep pen, put the fertilizer on the roof. I did very hard work, no matter what I did it went unappreciated. (Süreyya)

There is so much work to do you can't find the time to even cry.

I thought to myself if only I could finish my work before my beating comes and I could cry. (Süreyya)

The only person who was aware that the work she did had a monetary price if it were commissioned from the market and that she was producing a value for production was Süreyya. That is why she defended the right to inherit.

His salary won't buy him a shave outside. I looked after him, I gave him his food, his tea, did his cleaning, he is 115 years old but looks 60. He divided everything between my stepchildren; he should have given my son something, anything. He says, your share is on the roof which means that my share is non-existent. (Süreyya)

Love is tried by economic violence to the limits. If the woman wanted to sell the washcloths and sweaters she makes at home she has no such environment in which to do so. Her neighbors share the same economic challenges that she does. There is no one she can sell her goods. It is impossible for her to sell her wares at the market because of domestic responsibilities and the oppression from the vicinity.

You nag for two hours for money, if he feels like it he will leave 5 lira. If he doesn't then he leaves nothing. (Sevgi)

What it means is that the husband intentionally makes her beg for an allowance and the reason it is minimal is so that the woman does not wake up. She has to lack something constantly so she does not forget that her dependency. She should not see and learn everything.

If I had money I would have freedom, he doesn't want me to see and learn anything so he won't let me work. They want me to be ignorant and stupid. They don't want me to be too informed. (Sevgi)

“Er kadın” (man woman) is a title with supposedly positive connotations given to menopausal women; in the same way “boge” is a derogatory title given to women who long for freedom, try to fend for themselves and are clever.

Sevgi is referred to with this title because she perceives herself as somebody with emotions and thoughts, because she wants to be something more than bear and care for children, do housework and deal with her husband's sexual needs and because she wants those around her to remember that she is a human being and not an animal.

They perceive you as a need just for care and relations. He does not realize that you also have a life. He sees you as a slave, not a partner in life. (Sevgi)

Sexuality is mostly just a part of the work load, something to do on the night shift. Since the woman transfers all the rights to her body to the husband on marriage she does not have the choice of saying “I don't want to provide sexual services tonight”. Since she knows that resisting will result in rape she does not show any resistance.

We have four children but I never warmed up to my husband. He touches me even if I ask him not to. I don't have the energy to struggle. (Münevver)

Being treated like a slave at home and the marriage becoming a platform for abuse creates a weariness. This weariness is evident in the way marriage is defined. When they speak of marriage it is as if they are talking about a scary movie, a structure which extinguishes their life energies and buries them alive.

When I hear of people getting married I get cold all over. (Sevgi)

When you are married you take care of your home, your husband. Nothing else. Marriage is service. That is all it is. (Süreyya)

Marriage is disgusting. If had not got married I would have been a more successful human being than a man. (Münevver)

An unlived childhood may become a chronic situation as it has in the example of Perihan. Perihan says that although she is 40 years of age, she sits by children playing house and watches them; the only reason Perihan does go out any buy a doll for herself is the fear that people would call her crazy.

Yesterday I watched some children riding bicycles; I thought to myself what if I rode a bicycle too. But when there are men present I am embarrassed. My skirts might get blown away and my legs might show. I can't play hopscotch. (Rabia k.)

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The early marriage which is the subject of this study is a form of actualization of child abuse within the family, in the prison of privacy. This abuse may only be expressed within the repertoire of femaleness. Regarding this language, which is functionalized with destiny, fortune, luck, sin, immoral, the comprehension of what it means to be child-bride, how the patriarchy institutionalize the early marriage which we may call as legitimate child abuse was tried.

Considering that patriarchy has numerous definitions, it shall be useful to specify which of these definitions has been used as a basic reference. The details are provided in the section definition of patriarchy; at the same time Hartmann defines patriarchy as solidarity among men, interdependence and emphasizes hierarchy which is important for this study. In addition, it is important that in the definition of Benett, patriarchy is not only the history of men but also the resistance points for women and sometimes the implementers are underlined. As Ramazanoğlu said patriarchy is the natural normal male domination over the woman that is legitimized by an ideology system which ensures that it is right and just. Another concept which was important for this study was the patriarchal way of negotiating as mentioned by Kandiyoti which enables this ideological legitimization. The most conspicuous application in the privacy of early marriage is given a menopausal woman the title of “man woman”. With this title the woman comes closer to the master classes and in return she is expected to tolerate that her husband brings a second wife who is young enough to be his daughter to the home. The man woman reigns supreme over the new bride and the housework decreases. We can say that a complex situation matriculates in which the wife turns into a mother-in-law of the husband.

This study has also looked into how women who are victims of legitimized corporate pedophilia in a patriarchal tradition become implementers themselves. First of all it is necessary to mention some assumptions on which the study is based. The first assumption is that all individuals under the age of 18 are considered children. Childhood is a socially constructed concept. Previously children were portrayed as miniature adults, after the 18th century to date children are defined as individuals with special care, nutrition and play needs. Within this scope child marriage is assessed as an inappropriate category. According to the radical feminism which forms the fundamental theoretical approach of this study the qualities of marriage already contain domineering features.

We can state that the early marriage is one of the appearances of patriarchy. If be needed to quote the statements of Walby writing on the radical feminism

Male sexuality is forced on women through rape prostitution, pornography and other cultural practices. Women's labor is expropriated in marriage, their fertility is controlled, their creativeness is cramped with persecution and knowledge is withheld from them. (Walby,1992; p.121)

As provided in the summary below this study deals with the autobiographical experiences of early marriage that is marriages between individuals under the age of 18. Some of the experiences of women who have been married off early are viewed as authentic perspectives which happened because the women were children. These experiences include having the child play with her sister and brother-in-law, calling her husband abi (older brother), wanting to sleep with her mother-in-law because she missed her family so much, sitting in the lap of her father-in-law in the evening and calling him father, thinking she had a snake in her belly when she was pregnant, falling asleep while breastfeeding her baby and dropping him or looking 78 while only 28 years old from the heavy work, multiple and frequent pregnancies.

In addition this study also includes domestic rape, violence and the exploitation of domestic labor which form a part of the experiences of women married at an early age. The types of exploitation and abuse mentioned here is not particular to only early marriage. If a woman gets married at 30 she can still become a victim of

domestic abuse. What is emphasized here is the fact that as explained in the beginning the person who gets married is a child which aggravates the experience of the exploitation.

As an example of how the violence directed at a child is experienced more seriously, one of the participants who had been beaten by all the family members later thought that she was also going to be beaten by the neighbors and visitors who came to the house and she started to avoid them. Because of this situation she became completely isolated from her surroundings.

The national legislation is contradictory regarding early marriage. The child protection law accepts that individuals under the age of 18 as children, while the civil law allows individuals of age 16 to get married with the permission of a judge; on the other hand the penal code puts the crime of sexual assault committed against a girl of 15 subject to the victims complaint and thus practically condones early marriage. We can say that the reason this situation is condoned because it is thought that it is very unlikely that a 15 year old girl will file a complaint against her husband by religious marriage. The contradictions in the national legislation are a reflection of the communal legitimacy of early marriage. In addition to being a common practice, early marriage has a stable reference point in religion. Even women who have suffered from early marriage promote the early marriage of their daughters which legitimizes the ideology of patriarchy and ensures that such abuse is viewed as normal and natural. In general, it can be said that neither those who married early nor those who were victimized by early marriage consider early marriage to be a problem. For this reason I reference my study on the international convention on the rights of the children and convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women to which Turkey is also a party and on the acceptance that an individual under the age of 18 is a child.

The important factor in normalizing the idea of early marriage in the mind of women is the fact that it is inevitable and seen as a final target. Different participants used almost the same words to describe that sooner or later women expect to get married. If we consider the opinion of radical feminists this is based on heterosexism. As Bunch and Valeska brought it to our attention, heterosexism is more like everybody's

business rather than an intimacy between two persons. The first step to being conditioned with the idea of marriage is being conditioned through heterosexism. The family unit that is established as a result of the marriage has an important role in transferring patriarchal value judgments.

We can link the idea women have about marriage being inevitable and the only kind of life on the horizon to the dependent personalities they have developed as has been declared by radical feminists in their manifesto named politics of ego. According to this manifesto a woman needs verification constantly which makes her dependent on a man, in the meantime as an important component of his personality, man develops his ability to dominate woman.

Apart from that, woman psychosexual development has also contributed to their suppressed position. According to Millett, men learn dividing sexuality from compassion, love in nuclear family. Men learn detach sexual needs from psychological needs. This situation paralyses their emotional ability. Needs of affection are satisfied with job success etc. However women, who developed dependent personality, always need close relationship and approval which come from men.

Another link which can be assumed is the way love is criticized. Atkinson explains that we are surrounded by organizations which are based on pathological dependency. Love is one of them. Love prevents women from developing their human capacities and makes them hypersensitive, dependent and vulnerable. In addition, through love, women live through identity experiences with someone they perceive as strong and thus love helps them in accessing human status; like Millett underlined, love makes the relationship of oppressor and oppressed more tolerable.

At this point we can say that marriage serves the purpose of bringing the woman closer to the status of human being. By being selected by one of the masters class they will promote to human status, they prove that they are complete and thus marriageable, and not have to tolerate titles such as old maid, witch.

Not being married is so frightening that the fear of getting too old and remaining outside the marriage market, or becoming too choosy with the suitor or suitors which prevents the postponing of marriage.

Another reason why girls are married off at an early age is that they are considered visitors in the paternal home since birth. Since they are only visiting there is no harm in dispatching to their real home, the husbands, the sooner the better. This concept of visitor can reach such a point that in addition to the dowry, the husband's family might be asked to pay for the milk consumed by the girl as a baby. This visitor situation was also mentioned by the participants. The sentences they used such as "How long can you stay in the paternal home" revealed the perception of their stay to be temporary.

Marriage provides a woman with an opportunity to gain power, have an area where they have influence. Remaining in the paternal home or living with male siblings can be compared to working in a dead-end job with no possibility of promotion. On the other hand, marriage provides the woman opportunities to negotiate for power within the patriarchal system. Accordingly, when a girl after marriage produces a male child she can increase her status within the family, can experience the power of authority she will exercise over her own daughters in law. In this perspective, marriage is revealed as an area similar to the prospects of a career.

It is clear that marriage which is sublimated, seen as unavoidable is a repressive issue for a woman because some women, although they themselves have suffered as a result of early marriage, still want to marry off their own daughters at an early age

The reason they give for this behavior is that they think early marriage will be good for them. When a girl going to live with another family is young she will be able to adjust more easily to her circumstances. It is believed that if the girl is still young enough to be unaware of her individual personality it will be easier for her to discover the personalities of her in-laws, adapt to the family perfectly and thus suffer less. In order to create the perfect victim it is believed that the candidate bride should be as young as possible.

When contemplating the reasons why women who had suffered from early marriage would want to marry their own children off early it is necessary to focus on the self-generation practices of patriarchy. Making a reference to what Millett, Arendt discussed regarding violence, it is not always obligatory by a management to use force. Sometimes it is possible to exist by generating consent. Accordingly, women who are the victims of patriarchal applications may become the most efficacious volunteers.

Patriarchy is not always applied through force; it is possible to say that sometimes it is made acceptable based on free will and the victims voluntarily create a mechanism which takes them under its control.

The analysis of Millett's women is significant about a minority groups which does not need implemented force for the acceptance of patriarchy. Because women are a minority group it is possible to be a victim of oppression and be a one-to-one implementer without the application of brute force. Kate millet says women have the qualities of minority groups. It is possible to summarize the situation like this: they do not like each other, in order to put themselves in a favorable position with their masters they use the pressure mechanisms which are applied to them on all the others and endeavor to reach a high place for themselves in the hierarchy, they believe that the justifications used to oppress them are true – like for instance that women are really stupid, worthless.

In the privacy of early marriage because of the extensive and uninterrupted oppression applied to women they internalize their secondary positions and begin to accept the situation as normal. Since they believe that they must achieve complete harmonization with their husbands and the families of the husbands and because they consider it normal to show no resistance against any kind of oppression and since the most suitable conditions are ensured by early marriage they may support this application. At exactly this point we may think that internalization is also a form of endurance mechanism. If the only way to endure the oppression she faces is by accepting it as normal and natural and if her survival is based on these conditions then her acceptance and internalization of patriarchal value can be considered as a

move for survival. In order to minimize any harm from this situation and facilitate the internalization of these oppressions is marriage at an early age.

Like they have no right to opinions regarding marriage, engagement is a process that functions more like an early reservation than a time when the partners get to know one another. It should be assessed as a step in which the girl child is taken under control. Since the responsibility of the psychology of marriage has been hoisted on the girl child during the engagement period this period is also a period which warrants as much objections and reactions as does early marriage.

It is also possible to involve the “berdel” among the reasons of early marriage. Berdel might be defined as mutually giving the daughters for marriage. When giving a woman away for marriage from his own family is set as condition for the male member of the other family who wishes to get married in exchange for the woman he wishes to get married with, this woman may be given away for marriage despite even being a child. That is to say, the little sister is sacrificed in order to marry the brother off. This practice provides savings on the bride price while making the destinies of the two marriages depend on each other. This practice is based upon the presumption that by the time one of the marriages comes to an end, the other would also be terminated. It is considered that the practice of berdel would provide that the families shall act with the consciousness that the daughter given away will in just the same way be treated as the woman who has become the bride within the family. Thus, functioning as a sort of insurance system.

Because of early marriage, the time the girls spend with her husband’s family is less than the time she spent in her father’s house. Statements like “How much bread did I eat in my father’s house” express the situation and the weakness of the ties she has with her own family and the feeling of dismissal - “they dismissed the girls, the girls left”- make her feel that she is condemned to the violence and abuse of her own. Having no place to go makes her more vulnerable to violence.

It can be said that this situation causes a sort of isolation. Another isolation method can sometimes be to forbid the visits of the parents and siblings of the bride.

In some cases, it is strongly restricted for the bride to see her own family. It might be perceived as the woman who goes to visit her own family commits a crime of neglect regarding the family of hers into which she was taken as a bride or as having prejudiced her fidelity to the new family of hers.

The purpose here is to completely isolate the young girl.

Another ground for preventing the woman from visiting her own family is the fear of a conflict with the other men who have authority on the woman upon hearing about the oppression practised on the woman.

In some cases, the own family of the bride might not would like their daughters to visit themselves often. These visits might be considered as obstacles for the bride to get used to her new family. Besides, the weight of house work put on the shoulders of the child bride might be so heavy that she may not even be able to meet her own family, without any need to any restrictions, due to lack of time and being so busy.

There are tragicomic impressions when the child has difficulties in adapting to the complex roles in the family.

The situation of the participator who has, also by the effect of the age gap between them, called her husband “big brother” in a way which may be considered as an indicator of the hierarchical relation between them is just like a criminal complaint.

I called my husband “big brother” for one year. Than, he got angry with me.He bridled at me till the evening. He warned me well: “This is what husband is, it shall not be called “big brother”. Than, I gave up. (Gül)

In fact, we see the clear spontaneousness of making incisive determinations the child bride in calling “big brother”. In a house shared with mother-in-law and father-in-law, the husband is the one who would teach the new power balances to the child bride. Since father-in-law is a figure of authority which is above also the husband,

both of them, as spouses are in position of subject. In this regard, the spouse functions as a “big brother” who would teach the right patterns of behavior rather than a spouse.

Kate Millet points out that comparing with each other is another strategy of patriarchal system. They are alienated from each other and they are become competitor by patriarchal system.

The woman, in the war of making up to the masters by bridling at the inabilities of the new bride, is trying to ingratiate herself with the masters via using the hierarchical relations between her rivals on the field where she has been caged. Despite belonging to the same class the women compete with each other in hostility being unaware of this fact. And it comes to be so coercive for the child bride at the bottom of the hierarchy who is unaware of the power relations.

The child bride, in the house she has been gone, finds herself not only trying to get used to new roles but also in an atmosphere of competition within which are also the sisters-in-law and mother-in-law.

It is possible to conceive the authority of the mother-in-law on the bride as a piece of the “patriarchal deal”. The woman bears this much of suffer with the dream and assurance that she would someday have a slave whom she can maltreat; and when that day comes along she actualizes the practice of suppression which she had learned by being massacred.

The instance of Devlethan might be presented as an exceptional case where the bargain at stake does not apply. As a person who cannot enjoy such an authority, Devlethan has wanted to act like the mother-in-law of the brides of the woman whom she had become the kuma of, however, she had failed. Because of not being the actual mother of the sons and older than the brides, the brides do not take he seriously and Devlethan thinks that she cannot get back what she had deserved regarding the labor she had spent for the sons. Being overwhelmed by the burden to care and inability to use any authority in return her as much to disrupt her health.

All of my interviewees have at least one suicide attempt. The child brides who finally choose to divert the violation they have been subject to themselves are so sick of living as to wish to miss the chance of death.

The reason why women tend to hide what happens inside the home and consider beatings to a certain degree to be normal is because they actually blame themselves. In addition the sanctity imputed to family is accepted as covering domestic violence and being unable to tell anyone about it condemns the women to the confinement of secrecy. As a result of violence the woman starts to perceive herself as worthless and this paves the way to suicide. It cannot be a coincidence that every single participant had tried to commit suicide in some way at least once. Acceptance of the situation as fate prevents the women from applying to institutional resolutions to change the situation. Thinking that all marriages are and should be like this, seeing others who have met with such violence that it is obvious and being thankful that it has not happened to her are reasons which prevent women from breaking the circle of violence. Women steer the violence to their own bodies. Women who experience physical sexual violence think about suicide at one point in their lives, (33%). 12% make an attempt. (KSGM, 2009)

It is a known fact that many women in the world attempt suicide as a result of violence. (Abbot, 1995; Reviere, 2007)

The necessity of protecting the characteristics of girls who have been raised as young ladies carries a heavy price on their lives. The price of protection is usually dependency and worthlessness.

The perception that woman is an extension of man makes the human qualities of woman questionable. Never mind equality, it makes it questionable whether she should be included in any kind of human category. A perception which does not adopt her rights over her body approves the rights of others over her. This causes the body of an individual to be thrown into a pattern of power plays. The secondary position of the girl child in the family and the applications which approve the man's control over her body make her impotent and take away her strength to persevere against unjust applications.

One of the most serious repercussions of the objectification of the body and the husbands right to maintain control over it are manifested in the girls attempt to take her revenge on her own body. The anger she feels in the face of injustice behavior is directed at herself. Some self harming can have tragic consequences. Various dimensions of self inflicted harm from a participant who had slashed her wrists while 7 months pregnant, another one who had incepted pesticide or the woman who said that a beating from her husband made her forget the pain she had inside are all examples given by the participants.

Loss of control over her own body and the limitation of freedom causes a fragmentation of personality. This makes her take revenge on her body. The roots of abuse in childhood are linked to behavior which causes an individual to abuse herself. It is necessary to mention the differentiation which B.S. Turner defines as the inner body-external body. The inner body is the perception which an individual has of oneself. This perception is under the impact of social and individual habits. The inner body is the focal point of numerous social and cultural interactions. The external body carries the marks of these interactions. By disciplining the body of the girl child the male domination causes deep traumas in the soul and inner body of the girl.

These women who have attempted suicide are without the skills and power to direct the post-traumatic anger they feel towards the real target which is the source of abuse so they inflict the anger onto themselves. In order to regulate these emotions they externalize their feelings and direct their anger and hurt themselves.

The hegemony of masculinity over femininity or the power of representing supremacy of masculinity over femininity in every area of life is historically closely linked with intelligence. An important component of western culture has been the rational search for knowledge. In this search the west positions itself opposite nature and alongside culture. The aim is the transformation of nature by culture.

Rational knowledge has been understood as overcoming natural powers, their transformation or taking under control. On the other hand, femininity has been equated with domination over rational knowledge or simply surpassed things. Ever

since the creation of philosophical conjecture, femininity has been equated symbolically with features which are deemed to be beyond reason. (Lloyd, 1996; p.22)

At this point deliberation regarding the desire of participant Sevgi to develop herself, develop the relationship with her husband to something more than providing sexual service and domestic labor into a dimension which enabled emotional and intellectual sharing and being accused of being a “boge” for this is possible. Sevgi was given an attribute which means officious because she had realized that she had a mind and wanted to use it, for daring to aspire to the area of intelligence to which she had no right.

Dunbar said that male hegemony over woman begins with the mastery of man over nature. Mary Daly emphasized that the hegemony of man over nature is a supremacy approved by monotheistic religions. Man exercises his unbounded right of disposition over nature and woman who is perceived as belonging to nature. That is why ecological feminists who contend with male hegemony manifest that this struggle is inseparable from the struggle to liberate nature. Since woman is perceived as part of nature she is an inseparable part of this struggle.

It is believed that with menstruation the woman’s psychological social development has been achieved and menstruation is sufficient reason to get married brings to mind the definitive determinations of Firestone regarding the functions of political classes. Since a woman is considered ready for marriage once she starts to menstruate and when she starts bearing children soon after getting married shows that the function has been defined. It is found unnecessary for the woman to experience the cultural fantasy we call childhood. Preparation for adulthood during the interim period called childhood is unnecessary. While men need to be prepared in phases for freedom, as soon as girls have reached fertility they are transposed suddenly into the world of adulthood.

The security problem in the region has prevented the legal system implemented by the central government from internalizing which has necessitated the establishment of justice and security mechanisms in the region by the people. Having a populous

and strong family appears to be an important condition for security. In order for this to materialize the family must have as many male children as possible. It can be assessed as a step toward this purpose that girls are married off as soon as they start to menstruate so they can start bearing children. It is functional to marry off young girls in order to extend the reproductive cycle.

Because of the security problem in the area, early marriage and the resulting exploitation remains a secondary concern. When the law enforcement feel a pressure by sympathizers of the “organization” to side with them, action against issues which are perceived to be private such as domestic violence, child abuse in early marriage are put off. Like an officer employed in the community policing department said, while it is the duty of law enforcement to gain the population onto their side it is a conflict of interest when trying to win over the local population to tell them at the same time how they should treat their wives and children, start legal process when necessary. It is evident that other women’s problems such as early marriage are considered less urgent than the security problem.

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